UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

CATHARINE ESTHER BEECHER
PIONEER EDUCATOR

MAE ELIZABETH HARVESON

A THESIS
IN EDUCATION
PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PHILADELPHIA
1932

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CATHARINE E. BEECHER

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TO
THOMAS WOODY

"Every great and good undertaking ordinarily begins, like the grain of mustard-seed, with an humble, unnoticed growth; and the greater the enterprise to be achieved, the greater are the obstacles to be surmounted by its pioneer laborers."—CATHARINE BEECHER

PREFACE

We live in a day whose realities exceed the most fantastic dreams of an earlier age. No lamp of Aladdin, no magic carpet, no "open sesame" could procure more astounding results than those we now achieve as a matter of course. The word "impossible" has all but disappeared from the world's vocabulary. Materially, socially, politically, and even religiously, the great god, Individualism, holds sway. Freedom is the core around which modern life is built,—individual freedom to live and do and be that which the inner spirit urges. Man is striving gradually to extricate himself from all bonds. A certain degree of political and intellectual freedom are his, while his mastery of his physical environment increases with every hour. There is probably no more striking phase of this general struggle against repression than that of woman for educational, economic and political independence.

In Catharine Beecher we have one of the pioneers in the movement for educational equality. Here, in this unembellished story of a daughter of Puritan New England, who, true to her heritage, lived plainly, thought straight, and spoke with candour, we have a bit of the romance which every great movement involves. Her story needs no embellishment; the facts themselves tell their tale of a woman who devoted every moment of a long life to the single end of improving the condition of her sex.

In preparing this biography, constant effort has been made to follow minutely Miss Beecher's intricate path in her many undertakings. All materials that could be found, both primary and secondary, have been assembled, studied, analyzed and interpreted, in accord with the canons of historical research, always with the purpose of truly portraying the rôle of Catharine E. Beecher in all those movements which engaged her attention.

Whatever success has attended this pursuit has been largely due to the splendid cooperation of many persons. The writer acknowledges the assistance rendered by the staffs of many public and private libraries and historical societies. Particular notice should be taken of the courtesy extended at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Maryland Historical Society, the Connecticut Historical Society, the Connecticut State Library, the Illinois State Historical Library, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, the Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa, the State Historical Society of Iowa, the Litchfield Historical Society and the Presbyterian Historical Society. The staffs of the public libraries in Philadelphia. New York, Boston, Cincinnati, Dubuque, Milwaukee and of the Library of Congress were most helpful, as were also those at the State Library of Connecticut, the Mercantile Library in Philadelphia, the Philadelphia Library Company and the Library of the University of Pennsylvania. The writer is especially indebted to Yale University, Mount Holyoke College and Milwaukee-Downer College for the use of valuable manuscript material and to Vassar College, Smith College and Columbia University for the gift or loan of helpful books.

It would be impossible to name all the persons who have contributed material or suggestions to this work. Several members of the Beecher family have been most gracious in lending letters or pictures or in contributing information, though all family material was not made available to the writer. Special acknowledgement is made to Dr. Willard Fisher, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, for his invaluable contribution of material concerning Alexander Metcalf Fisher and to Mr. Albert C. Bates, of the Connecticut Historical Society, for his help on many occasions.

The writer is deeply grateful to Dr. E. D. Grizzel, to Dr. James C. Miller and to Dr. Thomas Woody, of the University of Pennsylvania, for their helpful criticisms. To Dr. Woody, special gratitude is expressed for suggesting the subject of this study, and for constant help and advice during its progress. To Mr. Adelbert Schroeder, many thanks are due for assistance in various phases of the work.

MAE ELIZABETH HARVESON

Philadelphia,
April 1, 1931.

CONTENTS

Chapter

Preface

I. East Hampton 1
II. Litchfield 8
III. Building a Character 18
IV. Hartford Female Seminary 34
V. Westward 63
VI. The Great Idea 81
VII. Pursuit of the Ideal 105
VIII. The Author 149
IX. Signs of the Times 193
X. Later Years 212
XI. Appreciation 242
Appendices 257
Bibliography 266
Index 285

CHAPTER I

EAST HAMPTON

The fresh, white page of the Nineteenth Century had scarcely been touched by the pen of time when, in the historic village of East Hampton, Long Island, a placid grandmother gently placed in the arms of the minister his first-born child. His emotion was so great that "Thou little immortal!" was all he could say.[1]

Auspicious were the signs of heaven on the sixth day of September, 1800. No trio of fairy godmothers could have bestowed gifts more valuable on the occupant of a royal cradle than were promised here. Virgo dominated the heavens and presaged discrimination, great activity, method and logic, good mental ability, manual dexterity, and a love of history and statistics.[2]

She was named Catharine Esther, the former in memory of her father's foster-mother, his dearly-loved Aunt Benton, and the latter in fond remembrance of his own mother, who had died at his birth.[3]

The small Catharine Esther's father was Lyman Beecher, later to become one of the best known Congregational ministers in all New England. At the time of his daughter's birth, however, he was a young man of twenty-five, striving earnestly to win to salvation the souls in his first parish.

Catharine came of old, substantial New England stock on both sides. The first Beecher, John, came to these shores in 1637, becoming subsequently one of the founders of New Haven in 1638.[4] His great-great grandson, David Beecher, Lyman's father, was a powerful man, who followed his father's trade of blacksmith. Lyman remembered him as a man, who was well read in astronomy, geography, and history, who boarded college students and representatives to the Legislature because he enjoyed their conversation.[5] Whatever the cause, the New Haven blacksmith had a considerable turn-over in the matter of wives, four dying in seven years; but the fifth one, the "Grandmother Beecher" of Catharine's childhood, outlived him.[6] Lyman's mother, after scarce a year of the blacksmith's company, meekly joined her two predecessors, leaving a puny baby to be reared by his Aunt Benton. On the Benton farm, at Guilford, Lyman spent his boyhood days reluctantly following the plow across the stony soil, often stopping, however, to indulge in the poetic day-dreams of an imaginative, impulsive nature. Catharine said of him much later that he might have been a poet had his profession led to that culture.[7] As it was, he soon joyfully relinquished the plow for the book and applied himself more or less diligently[8] to his studies at Yale College. In the latter part of his College career, a friend introduced him at Nutplains, outside the village of Guilford, and here it was that he met and wooed Roxana Foote.[9]

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[1] Beecher, Lyman: *Autobiography,* I, 125.
[2] Waite, Herbert: *Compendium of Natal Astrology.*
[3] Beecher, Lyman: *Autobiography,* I, 125.
[4] Frost, Josephine: *Ancestors of Henry Ward Beecher.*
[5] Beecher, Lyman: *Autobiography,* I, 19.

Catharine's mother was one of those happy mortals who leave only beautiful memories behind them. Lyman had made up his mind that a woman to be his wife must have sense and possess strength upon which to lean. These characteristics he found in Roxana Foote.[10] When, as an old man of more than eighty years, he called to mind this wife of his youth, he said of her: "I never witnessed a movement of the least degree of selfishness; and if there ever was any such thing in the world as disinterestedness, she had it."[11] Catharine, in her *Reminiscences*, said of her mother: "Much of my success in after life has been owing to certain traits in my mother's character and their influence on my early training. These were a high ideal of excellence in whatever she attempted, a habit of regarding all knowledge with reference to its practical usefulness and remarkable perseverance in holding on persistently till the object sought was attained."[12] In illustration of this persistence she tells of a time when her mother was intrigued by a puzzle of iron rings inserted in a steel bow so that it seemed impossible to take them out without breaking. Day after day, while nursing an infant, she persisted till she succeeded, "to the wonder of all."[13]

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[6] Frost: *Ancestors of Henry Ward Beecher.*
[7] Beecher, Catharine: *Educational Reminiscences,* 15.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] Beecher, Lyman: *Autobiography,* I, 61.
[10] *Ibid.,* 62.
[11] *Ibid.,* 88.
[12] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences,* 10.

This calm, self-possessed mother was interested in Chemistry, solved mathematical problems, because she enjoyed that kind of mental effort, and painted miniatures of her friends, as well as pictures of the village. This versatile young woman was the daughter of Eli Foote and Roxana Ward. Her father was educated for the bar and practiced for a short time, but eventually became a merchant,[14] and settled his family in a house on the Guilford Green.[15] His death before the birth of his tenth child, left the little family fatherless and his duties were immediately assumed by his father-in-law, old Andrew Ward, who had been with Washington at Trenton and had become a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Continental Army.[16] At Nutplains, an atmosphere of learning and culture prevailed. The latest books were read and discussed, now aloud by the "General" with thoughtful comments,[17] and again by one of the girls as they sat busy in the spinning mill at the back of the house.[18] It is of small wonder, therefore, that the Foote girls developed tastes in the scientific and literary fields.

The village of East Hampton was already a century and a half old when Lyman Beecher came there in 1799. Settled by the English in 1648,[19] it had first come under the jurisdiction of Connecticut and later had been annexed to the government of the Duke of York.[20] By 1800, the original thirty families had increased to nearly 150,[21] but the villagers lived the serene, monotonous life of remote places.

The main street of the hamlet was a part of the main highway on this part of the island, but so little travelled that "the road consisted of two ruts worn through the green turf for the wheels, and two narrow paths for the horses. The wide green street was generally covered with flocks of white geese.''[22] The simply built farm houses, unadorned except by the wood pile in the front door yards, stood directly on the street keeping company with the ungainly barns. Not even trees lent their beauty to soften the severe lines for a single short row of poplars and one gigantic elm afforded the only shade. The ''great elms and sycamores, whose spreading arms extend their ample branches almost completely over the street,'' so romantically spoken of by the later historians of the village,[23] were set out in Lyman Beecher's time. One natural beauty the little place had: at its south end, but within view of the main street, was the sea, approached by an expansive beach, with many long, narrow irregularly shaped sand dunes. These ''dune lands were crowded with wild shrubbery, consisting largely of the fragrant bay and in the summer, the prevailing breezes were laden with the scent of the sweet honey-suckle and wild roses which abounded.''[24]

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[13] *Ibid.*, 12.

[14] Catharine Beecher's account of her mother's ancestry quoted from Beecher, Lyman: *Autobiography,* I, 54.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] Frost: *Ancestors of H. W. Beecher,* 111.

[17] Beecher, Lyman: *Autobiography,* I, 54.

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] Seabury, Samuel: *Two Hundred and Seventy-five Years of East Hampton,* 10.

[20] Beecher, L.: *Sermon on the History of East Hampton,* 18.

[21] Hunt, J. H.: *History of the Town of East Hampton,* 151.

Of such parents and in such a place little Catharine was born. In the former, she was peculiarly fortunate. Another New England girl has written: ''To have been born of people of integrity and profound faith in God, is better than to have inherited material wealth of any kind.''[25]

In the spring previous to Catharine's arrival, the minister had bought a house, ''a two-story framed house, shingled instead of clapboarded on the sides, the gable end toward the street.''[26] He made numerous improvements including new floors, new fireplace, and more bedrooms; and hither Roxana had moved her small stock of household goods shortly before her daughter's birth. In the family circle was Roxana's younger sister, Mary, the beautiful, irresistible ''Aunt Mary,'' whose tastes ran to literature and belles lettres,[27] and whose personality ran like a golden thread through Catharine's childhood.

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[22] Beecher, L.: *Autobiography*, 97.

[23] Seabury: *Two Hundred and Seventy-five Years of East Hampton*, 8.

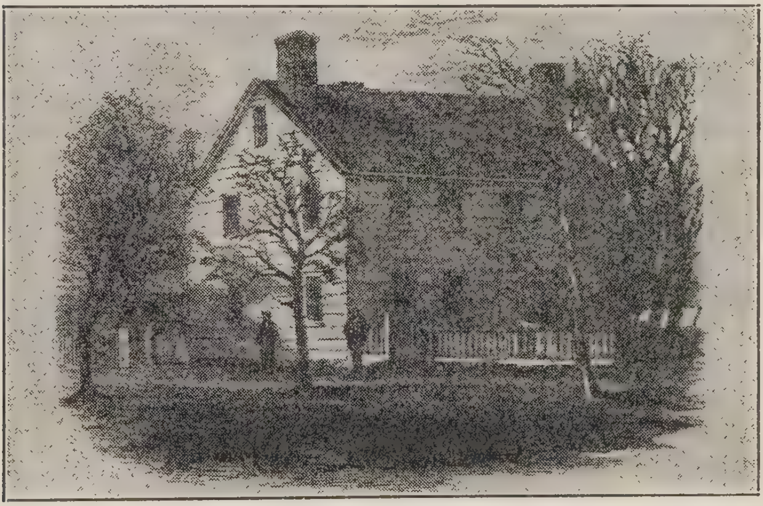
[24] *Ibid.*, 9.

[25] Larcom, Lucy: *A New England Girlhood*, 91.

[26] Beecher, L.: *Autobiography*, I, 123.

[27] *Ibid.*, 136.

Little Catharine was not a healthy child, but had a "delicate and scrofulous constitution."[28] In her later days, she remembered vividly sore eyes tied up to exclude light and being dipped in the ocean to prevent rickets.[29] Her father thought her "pretty backward,"[30] because she was slow in walking and talking and rather under normal size, but her mother, with typical maternal bias, found her prattle enlivening in many a gloomy moment.[31] But, delicate as she was, Catharine did not long enjoy her mother's exclusive attention, for William arrived before she could walk, and then, in rapid succession, Edward and Mary.



CATHARINE'S BIRTHPLACE
From Lyman Beecher's *Autobiography*
Courtesy of *Harper and Brothers*

It was a quiet life the Beechers led. There was not even the diversion of "going to the store," for there was none in town and all purchases had to be made in New York by a small schooner that ran once a week.[32]

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[28] Beecher, C. E.: *Letters to the People on Health and Happiness,* 112.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] Letter of L. Beecher to Mrs. Foote quoted in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* 129.

[31] Letter from Roxana Beecher to her mother, quoted in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* 130.

[32] *Ibid.,* 124.

News was, as a result, scarce and slow in arriving. We detect a note of despair in Aunt Mary's letter to a sister in which she begs her to "write me all the news. We get no paper, and know no more of the affairs of the world than if we were not in it. Here we are so still, so quiet, so dull, so inactive, that we have forgotten but that the world goes on the same way."[33] A Louisiana Purchase might double the country's domain, a pair of famous explorers might blaze a trail to the northwest, and another force his way through the arid southwest, an aroused young nation might resent and mend the ways of an exasperating Tripoli, but life in East Hampton moved on in its accustomed path. In 1806, however, the nation's remotest corners were shaken by Hamilton's death, and in Lyman Beecher's heart was struck the spark, whose bursting flame a few months later, in the form of his *Sermon on Duelling,* brought the Beecher name first into prominence.

But if life in East Hampton was "dull," "quiet" and "inactive," the Beechers found it pleasant enough. Of money, of course, there was little, for the minister's salary was but $400 a year.[34] Under such circumstances the children were not spoiled by luxuries. They had the simplest of fare without tea, coffee or sweets of any kind; the simplest of clothing, scanty in quantity, but sufficiently warm. These things, together with constant play out of doors in the healthful sea air, laid the basis of strong constitutions. Catharine's delicate health was soon transformed into robustness so that she says of herself: "I can not recall the memory of a single day of sickness from infancy to the age of twenty."[35] And poverty held its pleasures even for the senior Beechers. Lyman, with an eye to the useful, set out fruit trees and soon had a thriving orchard, while Roxana, always loving the beautiful, planted her door-yard with flowers and shrubs. And soon both gardens were copied by the other villagers.[36]

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[33] Letter of Mary Hubbard to Esther, quoted in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* I, 140.

[34] Beecher, C. E.: *Letters to the People on Health and Happiness,* 113.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* I, 129.

But poverty, while it was no social handicap in New England, since money was a commodity few possessed in large quantities, did become a problem for the minister and his wife as their increasing family made the yearly salary seem in inverse ratio to their needs. They decided, therefore, to open a small school, a more or less common method of augmenting income. There were already in the village three schools, of which one was the Clinton Academy, founded in 1785 and furnishing a ''handsome education'' to young men.[37]

The Beecher school was to be a select school for young ladies. So Roxana added to her household burdens the teaching of the higher English branches, French, drawing, painting, embroidery, while Lyman ''used to help about subjects for composition.''[38] The school prospered and on the whole was profitable, but not enough so, for by 1809 the Beechers had decided that, economize as they might, they could not manage their household (now with five children) on the available money. Happily, about this time, a welcome call came from Litchfield, Connecticut, and so the Beecher menage transferred itself to that charming spot.

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[37] Beecher, L.: *Sermon on History of East Hampton*, 27.
[38] Beecher, L.: *Autobiography*, I, 141.

CHAPTER II

LITCHFIELD

When the Beechers exchanged East Hampton for Litchfield, they must have found the contrast delightful. Where the former had been dull, placid, and, with the exception of its ocean, bare and ugly, Litchfield was a social gem in a beautiful setting. When even the casual visitor of to-day is left with a breathless admiration of this perfect little New England village, how its charms must have appealed to the beauty-loving eyes of Roxana and to the poetic soul of Lyman. That it left an indelible impression upon the younger Beechers is evinced by their own pens. Harriet says of it: "My earliest recollections of Litchfield are those of its beautiful scenery, which impressed and formed my mind long before I had words to give names to my emotions, or could analyze my mental processes,"[1] and Catharine at fifty, recalled it thus: "Far back in early youth, I remember that beautiful village, as a string of pearls across an emerald summit, with its sapphire lake and heaven-kissing hills."[2]

The description is an apt one, for Litchfield crowns and spills down the sides of a hill, in the mountainous country of western Connecticut. Built, like most New England villages, around its long "green," the plan of its principal streets shows the breadth of vision and sense of proportion of its founders. North, West, South, and East streets leave the common in their respective directions, each with its lesser tributary streets. North and South streets, almost opposite at the green, form the main street, which is broad enough for a wide road, and which has foot paths on each side, while between is a large expanse of grass, cut by semi-circular driveways leading to each gate. Over all the great old maples and beeches form an arched ceiling. Mrs. Stowe has given a perfect picture of this street in *Poganuc People:* "Its main street had a row of dignified white houses, with deep door-yards and large side-gardens, where the great scarlet peony flamed forth, where were generous tufts of white lilies, with tall spires and saintly blossoms, and yellow lilies with their faint sweet perfume and all the good old orthodox flowers of stately family and valid pretensions.''[3] Harriet Porter Beecher in 1817 said of it: ''It surpasses in pleasantness anything I have ever seen except Boston Mall.''[4]

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[1] Fields, Annie: *Life and Letters of Harriet Beecher Stowe*, 292.

[2] Beecher, C. E.: *Truth Stranger Than Fiction*, 292.

The Beechers moved to Litchfield during what its most recent historian has called its ''golden age,''[5] an age extending from the close of the Revolution to the first three or four decades of the nineteenth century. White credits the village with the first Law School, the first school for the higher education of girls in America, the first manifestation of the temperance movement, the first steps in the work of foreign missions, and the ''beginnings of the spirit which led to the increased independence of married women.''[6] Vanderpoel adds the first Medical Society to the gallant list of achievements.[7] Certainly the Beechers found themselves in 1810 in an ''elegant'' society, whose membership contained the names of men prominent in state and national affairs. The Wolcotts had lent their name to the Governorship and were to do so again before the Beechers left.[8] Judges Tapping Reeve and James Gould, of Superior Court,[9] conducted a Law School, which had been started by the former in 1784, and where ''were annually gathered from fifty to one hundred sons of the first families of the land.''[10] Other names were found in Congress and in the State Legislature,[11] while Dr. Sheldon's skill as a physician was known throughout the state. And, of course, the charm of the society was in no way lessened by the presence of the dainty misses, who came from the surrounding country to attend the school of Miss Sarah Pierce.

These families of prominence lived for the most part in the great, white houses along North and South streets, and here, too, Lyman Beecher established his family. Litchfield was to pay

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[3] Stowe, H. B.: *Poganuc People,* 184.
[4] Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* I, 367.
[5] White, A. C.: *History of Litchfield,* 92.
[6] *Ibid.,* also Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* I, 253.
[7] Vanderpoel, Emily: *More Chronicles of a Pioneer School,* 5.
[8] White: *History of Litchfield,* 297.
[9] *Ibid.,* 300.
[10] Beecher, C. E.: *Truth Stranger Than Fiction,* 297.
[11] White: *History of Litchfield,* 297.

THE LITCHFIELD HOME
From Lyman Beecher's *Autobiography*
Courtesy of *Harper and Brothers*

him $800 a year.[12] His house in East Hampton had brought him nearly $2000,[13] and so on the strength of his present affluence, and his pleasant prospects he bought a house on North Street at the corner of Prospect,—a situation which has been described as commanding a superb view with hills to the left and to the right and with Bantam Lake in the distance.[14] Harriet's graphic pen pictured the outlook from the four points of the compass: to the south, Mount Tom, to the west, Prospect Hill with its gorgeous sunsets, to the east, Chestnut Hills, richly wooded with forest trees, and toward the north, distant groves of chestnut and hickory "whose waving tops seemed to have mysteries of invitation and promise."[15]

In such surroundings and among such people, Catharine spent the impressionable years of her young girlhood, counting her friends among the children of Litchfield's best families and later, clad, no doubt, in the huge poke-bonnet, high-waisted dress, and small, thin slippers of Miss Pierce's other "young ladies," tripped daintily down North Street to mingle with Judge Reeve's "young gentlemen" in the festivity of the moment.

The first five years of the Beechers in Litchfield were remembered by Catharine as particularly happy ones. The parsonage must have been a bit crowded with the three small Beechers, who arrived to swell the total to eight, and Aunt Mary, who spent much time there until her death in 1813. There were also boarders from Miss Pierce's school, not to mention Zillah and Rachel, who cared for the kitchen department, and the brother ministers, who came periodically to discuss the fine points of theology with Lyman. Even so, Catharine speaks of these years as "a period of more unalloyed happiness than any in his [Lyman's] whole life. Mother enjoyed perfect health, and sympathized thoroughly with him in all his tastes and employments. The children were full of health and spirits, under a wise and happy family government."[16] Lyman busied himself with the thousand and one duties of a minister's life, such as weekly lectures to the students and other young men, afternoon meetings at the school or in the house of some parishioner,[17] calls upon his people to inquire into and examine their ''feelings,'' and constant visits to Judge Reeve, who ''was his chief counselor and friend[18] as Mrs. Reeve, a granddaughter of Jonathan Edwards,[19] was his wife's. There was, too, in the village, a pleasant social life of which John Brace has left a picture in his Journal of 1814: calls, evening ''company'' and tea parties, where the current literature of the day was discussed.[20] Mrs. Stowe's *Poganuc People,* which is said to be photographic in its picture of Litchfield,[21] tells of the parties, which began at six and ended at nine with the ''pealing notes of the nine o'clock bell,'' when there was ''an immediate rustle of dresses, and rising, and shaking hands. and cutting short of stories and uttering last words.''[22]

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[12] Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* I, 192.

[13] *Ibid.*, 214.

[14] "The Boyhood of Henry Ward Beecher," in *A Litchfield Beecher Day,* 8.

[15] Fields, A.: *Life and Letters of H. B. Stowe,* 30, 31.

[16] Catharine Beecher's Reminiscences of Litchfield, in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* I, 219.

Then there were the occasional gala days of which the ''glorious Fourth'' was probably the most important. Our increasing calendar of holidays was not known to the New Englander. Thanksgiving was observed to some extent, and Christmas, not at all by the Congregationalists and Presbyterians.[23] But on the Fourth, the entire village gave itself over to appropriate celebration, and doubtless the elaborate program of Poganuc's day is typical of those at Litchfield, beginning with the cannon at daybreak, through parade, oration, and the inevitable ''Declaration of Independence'' to the military review of the afternoon.[24] It was a day of real meaning to Litchfield, since every man in the village had served in the war.[25]

And once in seven days came that most important of days, the New England Sunday, a day marked by ''absolute rest from every earthly employment, the withholding even of conversation from temporal things. To the truly devout the effect was something the same as if the time had been spent in heaven.''[26] This was Lyman Beecher's day: morning and afternoon he delivered his ''long, closely argumentative discourses''[27] in the old Litchfield meeting house on the ''green.'' Henry Ward Beecher describes the church in this manner: ''There it stood, solitary, solemn, and lonely. There was not a single line or fixture in it suggesting taste or beauty. . . The building was square, with two stories of windows and a high steep roof on which the snow had hard time to lie in winter. The windows were large, with panes of glass six by eight in size, full of warts and wrinkles, through which external objects were seen by our young eyes in the most grotesque distortion.''[28] White tells of the efforts of the tired farmers to keep awake, by standing and stretching cramped arms and legs and of the ''meetin seed'' (fennel and caroway) distributed judiciously to the family by the mother.[29]

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[17] Private Journal of John P. Brace quoted by Vanderpoel in *More Chronicles of a Pioneer School,* 114, 115.

[18] Catharine Beecher's Reminiscences of Litchfield, in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* I, 223.

[19] Converse, S.: *The Works of President Edwards,* I, 763.

[20] John P. Brace's Journal of 1814, quoted in Vanderpoel: *More Chronicles of a Pioneer School,* 113.

[21] Boswell, George: *The Litchfield Book of Days,* 92.

[22] Stowe, H. B.: *Poganuc People,* 136.

[23] *Ibid.,* 55; also Beecher, H. W.: *Reminiscences,* 86.

[24] Stowe, H. B.: *Poganuc People,* 184–199.

[25] White: *History of Litchfield,* 93.

These days of sunshine, love, and busy activity that left such a happy impression in Catharine's memory were soon to be darkened by a sad event: Death for the second time entered Lyman Beecher's household and this time took his most cherished possession, the wife whose calm judgment and able intellect had kept steady his own vigorous but more impetuous mind, and whose serene disposition had minimized the inevitable disturbances incident to a large family. Roxana Beecher, after a short and losing battle, with that dread disease consumption, toller of so many lives, died on September 25, 1816,[30] leaving eight motherless children, an inconsolable husband, and a host of mourning friends.

Catharine's clever brain, turned for the first time from its naturally cheerful, merry bent, expressed the pain of her bruised heart in a poem, which Harriet says all the children knew by heart and often repeated with tears.

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[26] Stowe, H. B.: *Poganuc People,* 290.
[27] White: *History of Litchfield,* 290.
[28] Boswell: *The Litchfield Book of Days,* 163.
[29] White: *History of Litchfield,* 36.
[30] Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* I, 294; Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences,* 16.

"The busy hum of day is o'er,
The scene is sweet and still,
And modest eve, with blushes warm,
Walks o'er the western hill.

. . . .

The great, the good, the rich, the wise,
Lie shrouded here in gloom,
And here with aching heart I view
My own dear mother's tomb.

Oh, as upon her peaceful grave,
I fix my weeping eyes,
How many fond remembrances
In quick succession rise.

. . . .

Far through the vista of past years
As memory can extend,
She walked, my counselor and guide,
My guardian and friend.

From works of science and of taste,
How richly stored her mind;
And yet how mild in all her ways,
How gentle, meek and kind.

Religion's bless'd and heavenly light,
Illumined all her road;
Before her house she led the way
To virtue and to God.

Like some fair orb, she bless'd my way
With mild and heavenly light,
Till, called from hence, the opening heav'n
Received her from my sight.

Now left in dark and dubious night,
I mourn her guidance o'er,
And sorrow that my longing eyes
Shall see her face no more.

Father in heaven, my mother's God,
Oh, grant before thy seat,
Among the blessed sons of light,
Parent and child may meet.

. . . .

There may I see her smiling face,
And hear her gentle voice;
And, gladden'd by thy gracious smile,
Through endless years rejoice."[31]

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[31] Reminiscences by H. B. Stowe, in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography*, I, 295.

Such was the force of her personality that she left an indelible impress upon the lives of each member of her family: on Lyman, whose tender memories of her were still fresh almost a half century after her death; on the children, from Catharine, who attributes to her mother the formation of her own best traits, down to the small Harriet and Henry, whose brief years necessarily made their actual memory of their mother very limited, but who carried with them through their lives an almost living image of her.[32] Certainly her deathbed wish that her sons be dedicated to God and that all her children be trained for God[33] had all the strength of an imposed obligation, which was literally fulfilled in the course of time.

The year following Mrs. Beecher's death was a chaotic but a busy one for the Beecher family and for Catharine in particular, as the eldest child. While Grandma Beecher and Aunt Esther immediately moved from their home next door into the parsonage to superintend the family affairs, their dispositions and habits were such that they found the minister's noisy brood almost too much of a problem. Moreover, the New England household of that day was usually a self-sufficient industrial unit, quite independent of external aid, and the amount of labor thus involved for eight children and several adults was considerable. Catharine, at her father's suggestion, took over the task of making the clothing for the family,[34] no mean order for a girl of sixteen, even according to New England's stern standard, which permitted no "wall flowers" in a family. The family atmosphere was still further disturbed by the backwash from Lyman's theological wranglings, for these were times which troubled the heretofore-complacent waters of New England Congregationalism. Not only was the church's established position of political supremacy being assailed by the minor sects, but her sacred doctrines were becoming tainted with heretical theories and nothing, except the salvation of his soul, was so precious to the New England divine as the elaborately wrought, minutely detailed tenets of his religion. The great Edwards had left a legacy of clearly formulated dogma, and it was the duty of every follower to watch with eagle eye for the slightest indication of a brother minister's deviation from the marked path.[35] To the twentieth century mind, accustomed to the idea of a practical Christianity, the furore caused by the spread of the Unitarian doctrine seems like the proverbial tempest in a tea-pot, but the early nineteenth century had another point of view and Lyman Beecher and his friend, Dr. Nathaniel Taylor, of New Haven, launched a barrage of tracts, magazine articles, and sermons against the new sectarian spirits. Lyman's first important contribution was his sermon "The Bible, a Code of Laws," first thought of in East Hampton, polished in Litchfield, and delivered upon the occasion of his first visit to Boston in 1817. He called its effect a "perfect victory."[36] Whether he had in mind the temporary embarrassment of the enemy, the good impression, which led to his call to a Boston church some years later, or the flattering effects upon a certain lady of prominent family, I do not know, but in any case, he returned to Litchfield with a new audience for his sermons and discourses and a new mother for his eight children, —Harriet Porter, a member of the King family, which had a Governorship and an Ambassadorship[37] and a Senatorship[38] to its credit.

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[32] Beecher, H. W.: *Reminiscences,* 71.

[33] Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* 295.

[34] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences,* 16–20.

Whatever may have been Catharine's feelings when her father's news of a new mother arrived, her outward response was perfect. In a stilted, carefully worded letter, which is rather pathetic in its evident attempt to strike the right note, she addresses herself to Miss Porter, ending as follows: "I have at times, though naturally of a cheerful disposition, felt almost wretched when reflecting upon my father's, my brothers' and sisters' and my own unhappy situation. Think, then, dear Madam, how great must be my joy and relief, and how unbounded ought to be my gratitude to God, our heavenly Father, for His sudden and unforseen mercy in thus providing one so competent, and who, I doubt not, will so kindly fill all the tender relations of my dear departed parent—one who will prove a kind and affectionate companion to my father and relieve his mind from heavy domestic cares—a tender and watchful mother to my dear brothers and sisters, and who will be to me a guide, a pattern, and friend, to whom I may look up for assistance and advice, so necessary and desirable.

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[35] Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* I, 538–547.
[36] Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* I, 350.
[37] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences,* 23.
[38] Hibben, Paxton: *Henry Ward Beecher,* 25.

"I speak for myself, and for all my brothers and sisters who are capable of considering the extent of their obligation to you, when we promise to make it our constant study to render you the affection, obedience, and all the kind offices which we should wish to pay our own mother were she now restored to us from the grave. The sacred name of *mother,* so bound up in our hearts, would alone entitle you to the most undeviating affection and respect.

"My brothers and sisters desire to be remembered to her who, they trust, will soon be their protector and friend, and join their affectionate salutations with those of one who hopes ere long to be truly a dutiful, and affectionate daughter."[39]

In the years which followed Harriet Porter's assumption of a mother's place in Lyman Beecher's family, Catharine's hopes of her new relative were fully realized. A week after her arrival, Catharine wrote: "Our new mother is everything we could wish, and we already love her dearly,"[40] And in speaking of her more than fifty years afterwards, she says: "What she accomplished in our family in preserving punctuality, order and neatness, with a husband and several children whose habits in these respects were directly contrary to her own, was a marvel. And it was done without the vulgar practice of scolding."[41] Apparently the cordial feelings were mutual, for the new Mrs. Beecher wrote that "it is a lovely family."[42]

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[39] Letter of Catharine Beecher to Miss Harriet Porter, in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* 358.

[40] Letter of Catharine Beecher in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* 366.

[41] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences,* 23.

[42] Letter from Mrs. Beecher, in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* 367.

CHAPTER III

BUILDING A CHARACTER

Whether a river dawdles or dashes down its home stretch to the sea, whether it goes singingly or with a deep silence, whether it carries secrets in its hidden depths or displays to the casual eye its shallow bed, whether it travels a lonely path, or shares its refreshing waters with God's creatures, depends upon a host of natural conditions. So it is with the life of a man, for a thousand circumstances, like silken threads, are woven into the intricate pattern of his personality, and while a bit of crimson here or a striking blue there may seem to announce the theme of the picture, in truth the drabbest detail is of equal importance. Thus in the case of Catharine Beecher, the woman who made her debut into the service of her sex at twenty-three and who followed the service with such singleness of purpose and such complete absorption for fifty-five years, had had the foundation of her character laid during the pliant, adolescent years in Litchfield. Not that I hold with those who relegate inherited characteristics to an unimportant background, for Catharine entered the world with a fine mind, without which the most salutary environmental influences would have been unavailing. Moreover, she seems her father's child in her cheerful and optimistic disposition and in her marked ability to present the fine points of an argument. But whereas Lyman argued the controversial phases of his religion with a view to preparing men's souls for heaven, Catharine had a less distant goal in mind—the improvement of educational methods—and this practical turn of mind was probably inherited from her mother, as well as her facility with artist's tube and brush.

As to the matter of her formal schooling, she herself said: ''it amounted to very little,''[1] for it was at a time when ''book-learning for the young was at its lowest stage.''[2] While her brothers went to school, nine-year-old Catharine studied at home with her mother and aunts, who gave her instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic and geography as well as taught her to sew and knit and perform a variety of domestic tasks. None of these were to her liking. Being a normal, healthy youngster, she much preferred to play. In old age she recalls vividly the "mournful, despairing hours" when she saw the children at their sports and she was "confined till she had picked out the bad stitches, or remedied other carelessnesses," or had completed her accustomed "stents."[3] Far better suited to her tastes were her lessons in painting and drawing and for the leisure to pursue these arts, she was willing to master the less attractive branches. When she was in her tenth year, her mother's letter to the absent father told him his daughter was "busily engaged in painting some flowers for her work-basket; she learns her geography in the morning, and finishes her knitting in the evening, in order to save time in the afternoon for painting"[4] and then adds, a bit dubiously, it seems: "She is, I hope, improving in diligence and knowledge."[5]

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[1] Beecher, C. E.: *Ed. Reminiscences*, 25.

[2] Beecher, C. E.: *Woman's Profession as Mother and Educator*, 65.

When the family moved to Litchfield in 1810, Catharine was sent to Miss Pierce's school for young ladies, located just a few doors from the Beecher home. This school, which tradition says was begun by Miss Sarah Pierce in 1792,[6] shared with the Law School the pride of the villagers. The building had been erected by subscription in 1798[7] and in Catharine's day comprised some eighty pupils.[8] Catharine's memories of Miss Pierce, herself, were very pleasant,—"a woman of more than ordinary talents, sprightly in conversation, social, and full of benevolent activity. She was an earnest Christian."[9]

Of the school itself, opinions vary. The local historians probably exaggerate in their statements of its importance.[10] Certainly one must read with suspended judgment that "This school was for a long period the most celebrated in the United States."[11] Catharine in her Recollections of Litchfield[12] writes: "When I began school there she [Miss Pierce] was the sole teacher, aided occasionally by her sister in certain classes, and by her brother-in-law, in penmanship. At that time the higher branches had not entered female schools. Map-drawing, painting, embroidery, and the piano were the accomplishments sought, and history was the only study added to geography, grammar, and arithmetic. In process of time, her nephew, Mr. John Brace, became her associate, and introduced a more extended course."[13] There was a course of study, including geography, grammar, arithmetic, history, natural and moral philosophy and chemistry, which a pupil must have finished in order to obtain "the last honors of the school," but a candidate for these had to be able to answer eight-ninths, of the questions in all these branches, must have exhibited most exemplary conduct, and must have written eight dissertations or a three-months journal.[14] It is probable, therefore, that most of the pupils chose the alternative of pursuing those studies they chose, thus declining candidacy for "the degree."[15]

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[3] Beecher, C. E.: *Ed. Reminiscences,* 12.

[4] Letter of Roxana Beecher to Lyman Beecher, in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* I, 184.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Vanderpoel: *Chronicles of a Pioneer School,* 6.

[7] *Ibid.*, 4.

[8] Journal of John P. Brace in Vanderpoel: *More Chronicles of a Pioneer School,* 122.

[9] Catharine Beecher's Recollections of Litchfield, in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* I, 226.

We are not surprised that Catharine speaks lightly of her school studies,—she never became sufficiently acquainted with them to do otherwise, as she more than once assures us. A half-dozen times in her later life, she referred to herself in her school-days and it was always in some such fashion as: "one who was never any special credit as a pupil,"[16] or "I did little else than play,"[17] or "my chief contrivances were to avoid all kinds of confinement to study, or any kind of intellectual taxation."[18] In fact, we suspect she hit the truth squarely when she said her "good educators all had a hard task."[19] We hope she had the grace to blush as she recalled and wrote: "In school and between schools I was incessantly busy in concocting or accomplishing plans for amusement. One of these methods, in which my fun-loving associates aided, was a fashion practiced by many in the school, of adroit guessing. Then I would learn the answer sometimes to only one question, and my associates, by unnoticed changes of places, would contrive to have it come to me."[20]

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[10] Hollister: *History of Connecticut,* 603–604; Woodruff: *History of the Town of Litchfield,* 52.

[11] Hollister, quoted by Vanderpoel: *Chronicles of a Pioneer School,* 7.

[12] Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* I, 226.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Sarah Kingsbury's Copy of Requirements for Graduation, in Vanderpoel: *Chronicles of a Pioneer School,* 9.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] Beecher, C. E.: *Ed. Reminiscences,* 26.

[17] Catharine Beecher's Recollections of Litchfield, in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* I, 227.

As a matter of fact, there is nothing unusual in her resistance to scholastic methods of learning—many men whose names the world will remember, were the despair of their teachers. It is probably to her credit than otherwise that she refused to be fitted to the Procrustean bed that went by the name of education—a bare, routine, catechetical question-and-answer skeleton of knowledge. Moreover, she managed to slip through as a tolerably decent scholar.[21] In the summer and fall of 1814 and the spring of 1815 her name frequently appears near the top of the "credit" list, and once as the recipient of the first prize.[22] Her teacher, Mr. John P. Brace, wrote of her in his journal "for a small girl [she] shows great fertility of genius and strength of memory."[23]

But school was not totally disagreeable to her. Especially to her liking were the annual dramatic exhibitions—weeks of preparation which excluded all regular school work and which involved rehearsals, building of stage and scenery, ransacking the village for costumes[24] and other delightful experiences so much in contrast with the usual minutely-ruled procedure. Here was Catharine's opportunity to display her powers of mimicry in public and her fifteen-year old presentation of Jeptha's wife was

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[18] Beecher, C. E.: *Woman's Profession as Mother and Educator,* 65.

[19] Beecher, C. E.: *Ed. Reminiscences,* 12.

[20] *Ibid.,* 26.

[21] Catharine Beecher's Recollections of Litchfield, from Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* I, 227.

[22] John P. Brace's Journal, Vanderpoel: *More Chronicles of a Pioneer School,* 94–122.

[23] *Ibid.,* 94.

[24] John P. Brace's Journal, Vanderpoel: *More Chronicles of a Pioneer School,* 116.

"considerably liked,"[25] although it did not call forth the enthusiasm of teacher and audience that rewarded some of the other young actors. Perhaps, after all, her talent lay more in the literary than in the histrionic phase of the drama. She concocted plays for herself and her schoolmates to act between the school sessions in wintry weather, when dinners were brought and once turned Miss Edgeworth's *Unknown Friend* into a drama to be produced by the children of the family and those of Miss Pierce's young ladies who boarded with the Beechers.[26] Nor was drama the only muse at whose feet she sat, for in these youthful days her thoughts fell readily into the form of verse, and she became the poet laureate of the Beecher clan, commemorating its occasions. Sometimes the product was a mere nonsensical jingle such as that inspired by the death of the Parsonage cat:

"Here lies our kit,
Who had a fit,
And acted queer.
Shot with a gun,
Her race is run,
And she lies here."[27]

But more emotional events called forth a depth of feeling and beauty of expression unusual for her years. The death of an infant half-brother brought this poem from her pen:

"Sad dawned the morning of the day
That saw our sweetest flower laid low;
The weeping heavens were hung with clouds,
And nature seemed to feel our woe.

We laid him in his infant grave,
The fairest form of earthly mold,
Death ne'er could choose a sweeter flower
To deck his bosom cold.

Yet oft kind mem'ry's gentle hand
Shall lead him smiling to our view;
Recall his pretty prattling ways,
To wring our hearts, yet soothe them too.

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[25] *Ibid.*, 117.

[26] Catharine Beecher's Recollections, Beecher, L.: *Autobiography*, I, 228.

[27] Letter of Catharine Beecher to Edward Beecher, in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography*, I, 424.

Dear cherished child, though few the days
  To cheer our hearts thou here wast given,
When earth is past, thy cherub smiles
  Shall sweetly welcome us to heaven.''[28]

As the school of the early nineteenth century had not yet been called upon to assume the relinquished educational duties of home and church, Catharine's hours under Miss Pierce were but one part of her training. At her own fireside she received those fundamentals of practical education that through her life represented her ideal of education for her sex. A twentieth century writer has said: ''It is doubtful if a better training has ever been devised than that which was given girls in intelligent New England households.''[29] Another New England girl has well characterized this education when she said: ''We were taught, indeed, how to do everything that a woman might be called upon to do under any circumstances, for herself or for the household she lived in.''[30] First of all came the background of proper behavior for children; for this was an age when the fifth commandment was more than a list of empty words in an ancient book; an age when some of those time-worn adages such as ''children should be seen but not heard'' and ''spare the rod and spoil the child,'' if not coined, were certainly adhered to. The Beecher family followed these precepts. The little flock in the nursery no more thought of disobeying their father's decided commands than they did of putting their hands in the fire. A decided no settled the matter, usually without complaints or repining.[31] Catharine's memory long after recalled the tearful outbursts of her brother William which would be met with '' 'Stop crying my boy!' and the command was followed by contortions of the lip and brow, and heaving chest, till all was quiet. Next came, 'Now look pleasant!' and, at the word, out came the smiles like sunshine through the clouds. Not only prompt, but cheerful obedience was demanded until it became a habit.''[32] Lyman

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[28] Letter of Catharine Beecher to her grandmother in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography*, I, 430.

[29] Tarbell, Ida M.: *The American Woman* [*Amer. Magazine* (1912), LXIX, 207].

[30] Larcom, Lucy: *New England Girlhood*, 190.

[31] Beecher, C. E.: *Religious Training of Children*, 18.

[32] *Ibid.*

Beecher, the stern disciplinarian, was the picture his son Henry Ward carried with him into old age. He says in his *Reminiscences* of his father: "he was very busy, so that he could not afford time for moral suasion, and found it a good deal easier to box our ears and go on than stop and reason with us. As I take account of stock, I see that I was governed by fear."[33] Catharine tells an entirely contrary story. Whether her sex, or the fact that she was his beloved first-born, led him to chameleonize his behavior when dealing with her, we do not know, but the loving parent predominates in her picture. She says: "The tones and looks of love were the staple of life to his little ones, while discipline was sometimes administered with tears, more effective even than the rod. Not an hour of life can the writer remember, to this very day, when the full conviction did not exist that, to her father it was pleasant to gratify and hard to deny any wish of his child."[34] "With this strong government," she goes on to say, "and tender sympathy, were combined discretion and care not to multiply rules whose violation demanded penalties, thus bringing the young under a kind of bondage depressing to the elasticity of childhood. But few rules for the little ones, and more added only as habit made the preceding easy, was the method pursued."[35] So far as Roxana was concerned, her easy and gentle temperament made it difficult for her to enforce any rules.[36] The Beechers might differ in their opinion of their father's government, but they were of one voice in their praise of their mother. With the arrival of the second Mrs. Beecher, however, the maternal rule became more pronounced, and Catharine, under her training, learned to be systematic, orderly and neat, "habits," she says, "entirely foreign to my natural, inherited traits."[37]

During the year between Roxana Beecher's death and Lyman's marriage to Harriet Porter, Catharine's knowledge of the household arts was perfected. School was abandoned and her time was devoted to helping Aunt Esther with the family management. Clothes to be made, kitchen to be supervised, babies to be put to bed and gotten up again, children to be governed with ''big sister'' authority, household expenses to be regulated by that minute economy which characterized a New England community, all kept the young girl incessantly active.

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[33] Beecher, H. W.: *Reminiscences,* 134.

[34] Beecher, C. E.: *Religious Training of Children,* 18.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] Catharine Beecher's Recollections of Litchfield from Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* I, 219.

[37] Beecher, C. E.: *Ed. Reminiscences,* 23.

But it was not only the homely things that Catharine learned at her own fireside, for literature and poetry and science flourished there and gave their lighter touch to the daily routine. Roxana Foote had been reared in an atmosphere of culture and although she had attended only a common school, had a natural taste for profound investigation, with a special interest in mathematics and sciences. She was enthusiastic over the new discoveries of Lavoisier, and performed experiments in the kitchen and study.[38] Her sister, the children's beloved Aunt Mary, was a fine writer and wrote poetry, while both sisters were extensive readers of the best English classics. Catharine's impression was that her mother at least equalled her father in mental power and culture although he had received a college education.[39] Then there was Aunt Esther who was deeply interested in medical science and read medical works as extensively as most physicians of that day.[40] It was Aunt Mary who introduced Catharine to literature by reading aloud her favorite authors and the child retained a most vivid recollection of the ''Lay of the Last Minstrel'' and ''Marmion'' as given in her aunt's impassioned tones.[41]

Books were, of course, few in number, but the few were, as a rule, well chosen and representative of the best literary products. These were read and re-read, and discussed by the ladies in their calls and by the mixed company at tea parties and other social gatherings. A new book was an event and was often watched for long before it made its slow progress across the Atlantic.[42] Mrs. Beecher's brother Samuel, who travelled the high seas, always brought a stock of new books when he came to visit. These he and Aunt Mary read aloud. Thus Scott, Byron and Moore contributed their thoughts to Catharine's stock. Uncle Samuel always brought, too, the romance of foreign countries and souvenirs of Spain, Africa and South America. These, together with thrilling tales of adventure, widened a bit the horizon of the Beechers after each of his visits. Then there were the books which Catharine read for herself: *Don Quixote* and a few other novels found at her grandmother's and the poets, both ancient and modern. These she almost committed to memory and from them early formed a habit of reverie and castle-building as her chief internal source of enjoyment.[43] About her also were those living books, the men and women of Litchfield—some of them examples of the finest contemporary culture.

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[38] Beecher, C. E.: *Woman's Profession as Mother and Educator,* 127.

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] Catharine Beecher's Recollections of Litchfield, in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* I, 220.

[42] Stowe, H. B.: *Poganuc People,* 131.

These things, however,—the school, her mother and aunts, uncle Samuel, the social life of Litchfield—were but the threads weaving over and under the basic warp of the tapestry. The foundation, giving firmness, texture and tone to her life was that inexorable tyrant, Calvinism, whose iron hand rested oppressively on men's souls, squeezing out the lighter, more buoyant joys of life and leaving only the heavy sense of all-pervading sin. So much has already been said about the effect of Calvinism upon the character of the Beechers, that little new can be added here. The biographers of the two most famous Beechers dwell at length upon the life-long bias resulting from close contact with the implacable theories of "natural depravity" and "election" and in the case of Harriet Beecher Stowe, at least, her rebellion against the system is said to crop up again and again in her novels.[44] While the host of Calvinistic "Thou shalt nots" became imperceptibly a part of her life, it is probable that they had a less depressing effect on Catharine than on some of the other members of her family. She held the orthodox views, of which the juvenile edition was probably about like hers. She says: "Up to the age of sixteen, my conceptions on the subject of religion were about these: that God made me and all things; that he knew all I thought and did; that because Adam and Eve disobeyed him *once* only, he drove them out of Eden, and then so arranged it that all their descendents would be born with wicked hearts, and that, though this did not seem either just or good, it was so; that I had such a wicked heart that I could not feel or act right in anything till I had a new one; that God only could give me a new heart; that if I died without it, I should go to a lake of fire and brimstone; and be burned alive in it forever; that Jesus Christ was very good and very sorry for us, and came to earth and suffered and died to save us from this dreadful doom; that *revivals* were times when God the Holy Spirit gave people new hearts; that, when revivals came, it was best to read the Bible, and pray, and go to meetings, but that at other times it was of little use. By 'revival preaching' I was taught to look at God as a great moral governor, whose chief interest was to sustain his law. Then there seemed to be two kinds of right and wrong, the common and the Evangelical. According to this distinction, I could not feel or do anything that was right or acceptable to God, till my birth-gift of a depraved heart was renewed by a special divine interposition. . . . The selection of the recipients of this favor was regulated by a divine decree of election without reference to any acts of a being who did nothing but evil and only evil till this favor was bestowed.'' . . .[45] The Ægis that protected her from the effects of such ideas was her constitutionally cheerful mind. She was too happy and too merry to be able to think long of any thing solemn, or to fear any evil in this world or any other.[46] Her mother's death had a temporary sobering effect, while her father's distress at the peril of his children's souls spurred her to follow the prevailing process of ''agonizing.'' But though she read Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion* and tried to follow its instructions, she met with ''utter failure.'' Her antidotal cheerfulness dulled her hearing and her mind and so she tells us that she rarely heard any prayers or sermons and she doubts if up to the age of fifteen, the whole of her really serious thoughts and efforts would have occupied a whole hour.[47] We shall see, however, that underneath this surface of natural and philosophic indifference, Calvinism was exerting its insidious influence on her subconscious mind, to be met and battled when a shocking event forced her to face the issue.

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[43] Beecher, C. E.: *Common Sense Applied to Religion,* xv.

[44] Rourke, C.: *Trumpets of Jubilee, Harriet Beecher Stowe.*

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[45] Beecher, C. E.: *Common Sense Applied to Religion*, xvi–xviii.

[46] Beecher, C. E.: *Letters to the People on Health and Happiness*, 114.

[47] Beecher, C. E.: *Common Sense Applied to Religion*, xx.

Now let us survey the picture which so many hands helped to paint. Catharine, her childhood days over, was ready to assume some of life's responsibilities—she intended to teach to help solve the perpetual problem of making income and outgo equal. What sort of girl was she? Her stepmother sketches in the outline: "Catharine is a fine-looking girl, and in her mind I find all that I expected. She is not handsome, yet there is hardly anyone who appears better."[48] Catharine, herself contributes details, in retrospect: "My intellectual character was a singular compound of the practical and the imaginative. . . . Socially I was good-natured and sympathizing . . . morally, I had a strong sense of justice, but was not naturally so conscientious as some of the other children. . . . Add to these, persevering energy, great self-reliance, and such cheerful hopefulness that the idea of danger or failure never entered my head."[49] Hers was a portrait drawn with few lines and those firm, clean-cut, and masterly. Independence of thought and action was a Beecher trait and in none of Lyman's children was it more marked than in his eldest. Perhaps it was the result of his own teaching. These words delivered by him at the induction of a Boston minister, suggest his point of view: "Receive no opinions on trust, and allow no man to dictate what you shall believe. . . . Dare to think for yourself; but do not imagine that independence can compensate for indolence, or heresy, or hatred of the truth; or that, to be independent, you must, of course, despise antiquity, and differ from the vast majority of the wise, the great, and the good.

"Dare to think for yourself. Let no creed bind you because it is reputed orthodox, until you perceive its agreement with the Scriptures; but then, though everywhere spoken against, adopt it. . . . Dare to think for yourself, but give to others the same liberty; and never raise the pusillanimous cry of intolerance because others will not think your opinions to be harmless, or as correct and salutary as their own.''[50]

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[48] Letter of Mrs. Beecher, in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography*, I, 369.
[49] Beecher, C. E.: *Common Sense Applied to Religion*, xv–xvi.

Catharine's teaching career began in the school where she had received her own education,—that of Miss Pierce. Just what her duties as ''assistant'' were we do not know, nor how long she remained. It is probable, however, that she left this post in the fall of 1818.[51] Now she turned to serious preparation for the work of teaching, and shortly secured a position as teacher of music, drawing and painting in a school in New London.[52] Here she spent the summer of 1821 and returned to Litchfield in the fall ''much prospered,'' for, as she wrote her grandmother: ''after paying all my expenses at New London and journey, I had a hundred dollars, all of my own earnings, left.''[53] Her pleasure in the money was no doubt a double one, for we have her nephew's word for it that she had met young Alexander Metcalf Fisher and was making rosy plans for the future. It seems as if a trousseau must have been in the making, because Catharine remained at home and her younger sister Mary prepared herself to take the position in New London.[54] It was not until January of 1822, however, that the formal arrangements were made, at which time Mr. Fisher visited Litchfield and the visit terminated in a ''settled connection.''[55]

The engagement of his daughter was ''much to the satisfaction'' of Dr. Beecher[56] and, as for Catharine, it was the realization of all her favorite dreams of earthly bliss. Affection, taste, ambition, everything most desirable to her family seemed secured.[57] Well might the Beechers be pleased with Catharine's choice, for he was a young man of great promise. Alexander Metcalf Fisher was the eldest son of Deacon Caleb Fisher, of Franklin, Massachusetts. Born in 1794, he had been graduated from Yale College in 1813[58] and was elected Tutor two years later. In 1817 he had been made Adjunct Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy and, in 1819, Professor of these branches.[59] An intimate friend writes that the intellectual superiority of Dr. Fisher began to display itself at a very early period of his college life,[60] and certainly he was highly regarded by the college. In the spring of 1822, he sailed for England, with the design of making himself acquainted with the methods used in European Universities. He expected to be gone a year and on his return the marriage was to take place.[61]

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[50] Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* I, 352.

[51] Vanderpoel: *More Chronicles of a Pioneer School,* 198, 200.

[52] Beecher, C. E.: *Ed. Reminiscences,* 27.

[53] Letter of Catharine to Mrs. Foote, in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* I, 467.

[54] Letter of Edward Beecher to Mrs. Foote, in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* I, 463.

[55] Letter of Lyman Beecher to Geo. Foote, in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* I, 474.

[56] *Ibid.*

[57] Beecher, C. E.: *Common Sense Applied to Religion,* xx.

But, alas! the all-wise One had other plans. The ship *Albion,* on which Professor Fisher had sailed, was wrecked off the coast of Ireland and only one man reached the shore.[62] It was not Alexander Fisher. Her father sent the crushing news to Catharine:

"New Haven, May 30, 1822.

"My dear Child,—On entering the city last evening, the first intelligence I met filled my heart with pain. It is all but certain that Professor Fisher is no more. . . . Thus have perished our earthly hopes, plans and prospects. Thus the hopes of Yale College, and of our country, and, I may say, of Europe, which had begun to know his promise, are dashed. The waves of the Atlantic, commissioned by Heaven, have buried them all."[63]

Thus was Catharine Beecher rudely hurled against the adamantine walls of destiny. Now she was truly in the umbra of the Calvinistic shadow, for her fiancé had died without having become a church member and all her subconscious notions regarding the future life suddenly emerged to torment her. Unless he had been "renewed" in the last moments of his life, he was destined to spend his timeless existence in that lake of fire and brimstone of her childhood's imagination. And the question could never be answered. As for herself, instinct sent her to religion for consolation, but little of it was to be found in the harsh teachings of Edwards and Dwight. Her feelings, in her pitiful plight, she clothed in poetic dress. "In these lines," she wrote her brother Edward, "I wrote last Sunday eve you will see the feelings of every hour:

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[58] Scheme of the Exercises at the Public Commencement of Yale College, Sep. 1, 1813. Salutatory Oration, in Latin, by Alexander Metcalf Fisher. [Fisher Collection, Yale University Library.]

[59] Kingsley: *Yale College, A Sketch of Its History,* 229–231.

[60] Reminiscences of Alexander Metcalf Fisher, *New Englander,* (1843) I, 457.

[61] Letter of Lyman Beecher, Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* I, 474.

[62] Letters and newspaper clippings. [Fisher Papers, Yale University Library.]

[63] Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* I, 478.

"'Jesus said unto her, Woman, why weepest thou?'
I weep not that the veil of night
  Is spread o'er morning's brightest sky,
That Nature's beauties charm no more,
  While hope no more lights up my eye.

I weep not that my youthful hopes
  All wrecked beneath the billows rest,
Nor that the heavy hand of Death
  Has stilled the heart that loved me best.

But ah! I mourn the moral night
  That shrouds my eyes in deepest gloom;
I mourn that, tempest-toss'd on earth,
  I have in heaven no peaceful home.

I mourn I have no heavenly friend
  On whom my empty heart can rest;
Nor that best Father's tender love
  To guide my way and make me bless'd.

Oh Thou who hast made desolate,
  Take this lone heart for thy abode;
Then father, friend, and home shall be
  In Thee, my Savior and my God.'"[64]

The heart is touched by the pathetic note of her letter to Edward: "My dear brother, I am greatly afflicted. I know not where to look for comfort. The bright prospects that turned my thoughts away from heaven are all destroyed, and now that I have nowhere to go but to God, the heavens are closed against me, and my prayer is shut out."[65] Edward could not help her, nor could her father. The best they could do was to offer her the cold, dispassionate doctrines of their theology and these, once time had begun to dull the intensity of her first grief, her mind began to reject. Her capable mind, sharpened perhaps by resentment that after months of sincere and desperate struggle along the prescribed path, she had been unable to experience the orthodox emotions and spurred, possibly as well, by the desire to vindicate the attitude of her lost lover, began to apply common sense to the religion her father taught and believed. Thus her earlier sense of her own incompetency changed to her life-long view that in Calvinism there was "a dreadful mistake somewhere."[66] The feeling was deepened by a year's visit with the family of Mr. Fisher in Franklin, Massachusetts. Here she read in his private papers of his own unsuccessful efforts to achieve the very end for which she had been laboring,[67] yet, according to ordinary standards, he had been a model son and brother. The similar struggles of his mother and brother deepened her conviction. Letters were exchanged between her father and herself—hers putting forth timidly her first expressed objections and his strongly combatting them. At the time she had no ready refutation, and although not convinced, she appeared outwardly submissive and eventually joined her father's church.[68] But this mental struggle was far-reaching in its consequences for there was a constant conflict between the theories to which she had bowed her intellect and thought she believed and the impulses of her moral nature and of common sense.[69] The tremors, moreover, consequent on this struggle are felt throughout her writings on religion. It has been said, too, that without this conflict, neither Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Minister's Wooing* nor Edward Beecher's *Conflict of Ages* would have been written.[70]

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[64] Letter of Catharine to Edward, June 4, 1822, in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography*, I, 479.

[65] *Ibid.*

Now Catharine must needs consider the question of her future employment. There was no pressing need of money for herself as nearly two thousand dollars had come to her from the estate of Alexander Metcalf Fisher.[71] Some occupation, however, was a necessity to one of her restless temperament. On New Year's Day, 1823, she wrote her father from Franklin: "Generally speaking, there seems to be no very extensive sphere of usefulness for a single woman but that which can be found in the limits of a school-room; but there have been instances in which women of superior mind and acquirements have risen to a more enlarged and comprehensive boundary of exertion, and by their talents and influence have accomplished what, in a more circumscribed sphere of action, would have been impossible. My employments this winter have led to the inquiry whether there is not a course that might be pursued leading to a more extended usefulness."[72] It is the purpose of the following chapters to chronicle that "course leading to a more extended usefulness."

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[66] Letter of Catharine to Edward, June 4, 1822, in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* I, 479; Beecher, C. E.: *Common Sense Applied to Religion,* xx.

[67] Religious Journal of A. M. Fisher [*MS.* Fisher Collection, Yale University Library].

[68] Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* I, 494–507.

[69] Beecher, C. E.: *Common Sense Applied to Religion,* xxiv.

[70] Fields: *Life and Letters of Harriet Beecher Stowe,* 54; Stowe: *Harriet Beecher Stowe,* 49.

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[71] Letter of A. M. Fisher to parents, April 1, 1822, and receipt of Lyman Beecher to Caleb Fisher, June 27, 1822. Copies through courtesy of Willard J. Fisher.

[72] Letter of Catharine to her father, January 1, 1823, in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography*, I, 495–507.

CHAPTER IV

HARTFORD FEMALE SEMINARY

The place chosen by Catharine and Mary for their new venture in school-keeping was Hartford. Edward Beecher, valedictorian of the class of 1822 in Yale, was already there as Master of the Hartford Grammar School[1] and Catharine counted on this brother, to whom she was deeply attached, to assist her in removing some of her own deficiencies in the advanced subjects. The prestige of Edward's position as head of a very old and highly respected classical school[2] would cast a reflecting glow upon the attempt of his sisters and this together with the esteem extended to any children of Lyman Beecher, would create a favorable attitude toward the new school. Moreover, Rev. Mr. Joel Hawes, a prominent Hartford divine and minister of First Church, had told Catharine that a good female school was needed.[3] This need had been fully confirmed by Dr. Beecher after a visit to Hartford in March, 1823, during which he made inquiries about opening a school and came away with the conviction that enough scholars could be obtained. These facts he wrote to Catharine at Boston and ended by cautioning her: "It will not, however, answer for you to engage in it listlessly, expecting yourself to superintend and do a little, and have the weight of the school come on others. I should be ashamed to have you open, and keep only a commonplace, middling sort of school. It is expected to be of a higher order; and, unless you are willing to put your talents and strength into it, it would be best not to begin."[4]

That Catharine decided to put her talents and strength into the school was evidenced when, a month afterwards, in the latter part of April, 1823, the Hartford papers informed the citizens that the ''Misses C. and M. Beecher will open in this place a School intended exclusively for those who wish to pursue the higher branches of female education. It is hoped that those who attend, will feel disposed to acquire a thorough knowledge of the most necessary parts of education, such as Geography, Grammar, Rhetoric, etc., and will afterward advance to a higher and more extended knowledge of science and literature. None will be admitted under the age of 12, unless unusually advanced in their education. Term for tuition, $6 per quarter. Lessons will be given in Music at $10 per quarter, and in drawing at $2 per quarter. The term will commence May 20, 1823.''[5] And so in May of 1823, but little more than a year from the day her father's letter from New Haven had brought her the stunning news of the cruel turn of fortune's wheel, we find her gallantly facing the world, still undaunted, unconquered. But the year had left its mark on her—the gay, fun-loving, joke-playing girl of twenty-two, counting over the contents of Hope Chest with misty, dream-laden eyes, had given place to the serious, deep-purposed woman of twenty-three, Hope Chest and dreams put away and clear eyes now filled with the light of service. How typical of her this reaction to disappointment came to be! Time and again Fate baffled some cherished plan of hers, and always she started again on a new path, with a new plan—brave, undiscouraged, still optimistic. That the wound always remained tender, we know, and that she must often have felt the inclination to rebel against a destiny that deprived her of home and children, is certain, for she was very human, but it was an age when ''resignation'' was a virtue much extolled, and Catharine did the expected when she put her head up and shoulders back and walked with firm step along the path of duty.

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[1] Letter of Edward Beecher to Mr. Caleb Fisher, October 27, 1822, and to Mr. Willard Fisher, October 12, 1824, [*MS.* Fisher Collection, Yale University Library].

[2] *Barnard's Am. Journal of Ed.*, XXVIII, 200.

[3] Letter of Catharine Beecher to Dr. Beecher, February 15, 1823, quoted in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography*, I, 506.

[4] Letter of Dr. Beecher to Catharine, in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography*, I, 516.

Hartford was a good place to forget sorrow, such a bustling, busy place it was, and Catharine's school was in the midst of the bustle on Main Street over a harness store. Stage-coaches daily clattered down the street to come to a halt at Ripley's Coffee Shop, for Hartford was on the most important routes. One could leave at 3 A. M. on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, and reach Boston in only seventeen hours and all for the nominal sum of $6.50,[6] or, for $1.50 he could take a five-hour trip any Tuesday, Thursday or Saturday and arrive in New Haven.[7] Or, with New York as his destination the traveller might embark on the Steam Boat "Experiment" any Wednesday or Saturday and make the journey to his destination for $5[8] provided the "Experiment" was successful—though all too few were in these early days. A walk after school might be regaled with a visit to the "Ladies' Fashionable Shoe Store," presided over by one Mr. Mathews,[9] or by choosing a new Leg-horn Hat or Gipsey in the store of Sarah Weeks, "a few rods North of the State-House,"[10] or in the rival shop of Sally Hoff, "on the corner Southwest of the Court House."[11] If material for a new dress or cape were required, a bewildering number of merchants temptingly advertised their wares.—Cambric and Sarsnet Muslins, Calicoes, white and colored Cassimeres, Baizes, Tartan Plaid Bombazettes and Caroline Plaids, made choice almost impossible. If amusement were needed, what more enticing than the concert of the Jubal Society at the Episcopal Church where "The performance will consist of Anthems, Choruses, Duetts, and Solos. The order of which may be had with tickets"?[12] Or one might prefer "Miss Clinton, the young Columbian Vocalist from Boston," with her "variety of fashionable and popular Songs, Duetts etc."[13] Or one more intellectually inclined could spend a profitable hour or two in the Hartford Museum of Curiosities and Paintings, with its "Ninety Portraits, Natural Curiosities etc.,"[14] or for $2 per annum, paid in advance, one could read in the pages of the *Times* and *Hartford Advertiser* of "Horrid Transactions," "Remarkable occurrences," "Wonderful escapes," "Melancholy Shipwrecks" or "Most Distressing Intelligence," not to mention the latest political news from Washington and Europe.[15]

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[5] *Connecticut Courant,* April 22, 1823; *Connecticut Mirror,* April 21, 1823; *American Mercury,* April 22, 1823.

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[6] *Hartford Times*, October 28, 1823.
[7] *Ibid.*, January 20, 1824.
[8] *Ibid.*, March 20, 1824.
[9] *Ibid.*, October 28, 1823.
[10] *Ibid.*, April 8, 1823.
[11] *Ibid.*, January 7, 1823.
[12] *Connecticut Mirror*, January 27, 1823.
[13] *American Mercury*, February 18, 1823.
[14] *Hartford Times*, May 18, 1824.

We gather, however, that Catharine and Mary had little time for the excitements of Hartford, for although their school comprised but fifteen pupils, they were busy brushing up their own knowledge. Catharine taught Latin and studied it with Edward at the same time, keeping only a few pages ahead of her scholars.[16] Moreover, probably Latin was not the only subject in which the teachers had but a scant handicap in the race, for Catharine confessed in her *Suggestions Respecting Improvements in Education* that her school had begun by offering instruction in all the various departments of literature and science because, "At that time it was a general feeling in the community that the excellence of a school depended in a great degree upon the number of branches in which the teacher proposed to instruct, and also in some measure upon the difficulty and uncommonness of these branches, so that most of the popular advertisements of the day, purported that one person proposed to teach in from ten to twenty different pursuits, and these including oftentimes various languages, and many of the studies pursued in our Colleges."[17] During the third term of their school, beginning May 12, 1824, the sisters between them taught Grammar, Geography, Rhetoric, Philosophy, Chemistry, Ancient and Modern History, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Moral Philosophy, Natural Theology, and Latin.[18] But youthful enthusiasm must have compensated for any lack of profound knowledge on the part of the teachers, for the school outgrew its quarters twice within three years and eventually moved to the basement of a church.[19] In this one room, so large that it increased every noise by its reverberation and required a "painful effort" for the teacher to speak so as to be properly understood, were the seventy or eighty girls who now composed the school,[20] and these because of differences in capacities and age were divided into several classes in each subject, making the number of recitations so great that not more than eight, ten or fifteen minutes could be allowed to any one class. A typical day of the busy teachers is here described by Catharine:

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[15] *Ibid.*, 1823, 1824.

[16] Beecher, C. E.: *Woman's Profession as Mother and Educator*, 71.

[17] Beecher, C. E.: *Suggestions Respecting Improvements in Education*, 21.

[18] *Connecticut Courant*, April 6, 1824.

[19] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences*, 30.

[20] Beecher, C. E.: "Female Education." *Am. Journal of Education*, II, (1827), 266.

"Upon entering the school they commenced in the first place the business of keeping in order and quietness an assembly of youth, full of life and spirits, and many of them ready to evade every rule, were not the eye of authority continually upon the watch. To this distracting employment (enough sometimes to occupy a dozen minds) was added the labour of hearing a succession of classes at the rate of one for every eight, ten, or fifteen minutes. In attending to this, no time could be allowed to explain or illustrate. The teacher must endeavour to discover as quick as possible, if the pupil could repeat a certain set of words; if so, nothing more could be expected; if not, some extra stimulus, in the form of reproof or inducement must be applied, and then all that the teacher could do was accomplished; the next class must come, and thus through the day.

"By the time the duties of the day were over, the care of governing, the vexations of irregularities and mischief, the labour of hearing such a number and variety of lessons, and the sickness of heart occasioned by feeling that nothing was done well, were sufficient to exhaust the animal strength and spirits, and nothing more could be attempted, till the next day rose to witness the same round of duties."[21]

In the spring of 1826, Catharine extended the offerings of her school by adding a boarding department and two additional teachers, one for Music and Drawing and another for French. The spring advertisement of the school called attention to the fact that "those who wish to learn to speak French, can enjoy the advantage of boarding with the teacher, and of hearing daily, conversation, in that language."[22] The parents were at the same time informed that "Particular attention will be paid to the manners and conversation of the young ladies, and occasional opportunities of mingling in good society, will be afforded to all the members of the school of a suitable age.''[23] The social intercourse mentioned here was the beginning of what came to be quite a feature of the Hartford Female Seminary. On one evening of each week, Miss Beecher received her own friends and those of her pupils to a social gathering enlivened by music and conversation. These levees were mentioned in the later catalogues as one of the school's attractions[24] and Harriet Beecher Stowe later spoke of them as ''a great addition to the social life of Hartford.''[25]

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[21] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy for the Wrongs of Woman*, 63.
[22] *Connecticut Courant*, March 20, 1826.

When the end of the term came, and examination and exhibition days were over, the Beecher sisters would be turning their faces toward the west, where, thirty-five miles away, lovely Litchfield awaited their return. Happy vacation days, these, for Catharine! She had discovered the secret of happiness, as has many another,—found it in complete absorption in work. Life was once more beautiful, with perhaps a quieter, deeper beauty than before. The outpouring of her affectionate nature, diverted from its former channel, seems to have flowed with renewed richness toward her father. Her letters to Edward speak always of her great love for him. In January 1825 she writes: ''There is nothing makes me so happy as to be with him, and nothing so stimulates my intellect as his conversation.''[26] And again in April of the same year she says: ''You cannot imagine how much I enjoy this visit at home. You know how happy it makes us to be with father. His society seems always to give a new impulse to the affections of the heart, and to every intellectual power.''[27] Where formerly the waves of his Sunday eloquence made no impression upon her unresponsive ears, now his sermons electrified her. She wrote: ''The fact is, I never hear anybody preach that makes me feel as father does; perhaps it may be because he is father. But I can not hear him without its making my face burn and my heart beat.''[28] This deep affection seems to have been mutual for Dr. Beecher, writing to William in 1826 concerning Catharine, said: ''She has been and is a comfort to me.''[29]

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[23] *Ibid.*

[24] *Catalogue of Hartford Female Seminary*, 1828.

[25] Catharine Beecher by Stowe, H. B., in *Our Famous Women*, 89.

[26] Letter of Catharine Beecher to Edward, in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography*, II, 17.

[27] Letter of Catharine Beecher to Edward, in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography*, II, 27.

[28] Letter of Catharine Beecher to Edward, in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography*, II, 15.

After March, 1826, the vacation days were no longer spent in Litchfield, for Dr. Beecher, even with the help of his older children, had found his income inadequate for his growing family and had accepted an urgent call from Hanover Church in Boston.[30] Lyman Beecher's grandson, Charles Stowe, in speaking of this move, says Dr. Beecher was actuated partly by personal motives and partly by the great strategic importance of the Boston Church in the war against Unitarianism. ''In Boston his preaching, which has been called 'logic on fire,' became more aggressively theological than it had ever been before. He felt that God had placed him there to fight and crush a soul-destroying heresy. The stake was nothing so paltry as power and empire, or even human lives. It was the immortal souls of men.''[31] In order to comprehend the vital importance of this death struggle between Calvinism and its foes, one must tear off the layers of a hundred years' accumulation and get back to a level where men worshipped the shadow instead of the substance of religion; back to a time when a man was judged by what he believed. The Bostonians of the third decade of the nineteenth century might go to church twice on Sunday, observe all the Blue Laws, obey the Ten Commandments, read the Bible, say their prayers morning and night, and follow the Golden Rule, but these things in no way absolved them from the black sin of whispering among themselves some disagreement with the ''Faith once delivered to the Saints,'' as Lyman Beecher's sermon of 1824 called Calvinism. Dr. Beecher was assuredly full of temerity when he took himself to Boston to make the world safe for Calvinism because the orthodox were in the unpopular minority, and over on the other side of the fence were gathered the literary men of Massachusetts, the trustees and professors of Harvard College, the élite of wealth and fashion and the judges of the benches.[32] But the Beecher creed was courage and if Lyman was appalled by the strength of his adversaries, he has not left a record of the fact and he became in truth, the "great gun of Calvinism" that the biographer of his most famous son calls him.[33]

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[29] Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* II, 61.

[30] Fields: *Life and Letters of Harriet Beecher Stowe,* 55; Stowe, C. E.: *Harriet Beecher Stowe,* 55.

[31] Stowe, C. E.: *Harriet Beecher Stowe,* 53.

The high religious tension of the Beechers in Boston was transmitted to some extent to the Hartford contingent, comprising Catharine, Mary, Harriet and Aunt Esther, established as a family,[34] and from them into the school. Catharine and her pupils tried to "think out" the difficulties of their religion, often appealing to Edward or to Dr. Beecher for illumination on some particularly hazy point.[35] For the most part, however, Catharine left to her father and brother the attack upon the enemies of Calvinism, for she was gathering her forces for a battle of her own. Almost four years of teaching under the unsatisfactory conditions of her school had made her acutely aware of the current defects in girls' schools. Some of these defects she had already corrected in her own institution: thus from the first she had attempted to curb the tendency of girls to flit from one school to another without remaining anywhere long enough to acquire much of permanent value. This she attempted to accomplish by insisting upon their arriving at the beginning of a term and refusing to accept them for less than a specified length of time.[36] In the conduct of her school, the large number of classes to be taught had led her to train some of her brightest pupils to assist her and so we see cropping up here, as it did elsewhere, a phase of the Lancastrian plan, though it was apparently a spontaneous growth.[37] The lack of apparatus to aid in teaching the sciences, she sought to remedy in at least one case by writing to John McAlister & Son, of Philadelphia, dealers in "Spectacles, Whips and Canes,"[38] and asking for an "Improved Magic Lantern'' and ''Astronomical Slides'' which would be, she thought, of essential service in illustrating her Philosophical lectures. She also requested them to send her descriptions of any other articles of apparatus which would aid in the teaching of ''Chemical or Philosophical subjects.''[39]

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[32] Harriet Beecher's Reminiscences in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* II, 110; also Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* 538–547.

[33] Hibben: *Henry Ward Beecher,* 21.

[34] Letter of Mrs. Beecher, June 25, 1826, in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* II, 62.

[35] Letter of Dr. Beecher to Catharine, in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* II, 61, and Letter of Catharine to Edward, *ibid.,* 207.

[36] Announcement of school in *Connecticut Courant,* October 21, 1823.

[37] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences,* 31.

[38] *Philadelphia Directory,* 1828.

But there were many more deficiencies which required concerted action to supply—action, resulting from an awakened social consciousness and now began Catharine Beecher's long crusade to improve the educational opportunities of her sex, extending from what seems to be her first public appeal in 1827 to that in her *Educational Reminiscences* of 1874.

Prior to the spring of 1827, Catharine had been making persistent appeals to the parents of her pupils to help her realize her desire for a school on a superior plan. By now her thoughts concerning the needed points of improvement were well formulated and her article on ''Female Education'' appearing in the *American Journal of Education* in 1827 gave voice to them. As eight years before another woman had defined her position on this subject in her *Plan for Improving Female Education*,[40] so now Catharine sang for the first time what came to be her characteristic rôle on the stage of life, and though the song went through several variations in the course of its long life, the underlying melody was always the same. ''These,'' said she at twenty-seven, ''are the defects in our female schools: far too many and too varied duties are necessarily demanded from one person; . . . too many subjects in female schools are being pursued at the same time; . . . want of suitable apparatus and facilities for instructing; . . . mostly compends used; . . . want of suitable school rooms; . . . want of suitable books for consultation; . . . irregular mode of entering and leaving . . . schools.'' She sums up the unlovely situation thus: ''it may easily be seen, that the education of females has generally been irregular, superficial and deficient. A great part of the knowledge acquired in school is merely mechanical,—learned by rote, without any correct ideas attached to the words repeated.'' And then, like Hamlet, she presents the contrast: "It is believed that eventually the time will come, when it will be deemed necessary to establish endowed institutions for females, where a regular course of study is demanded—regular periods of entering and leaving established—a proper division of labor effected, and suitable facilities and accommodations provided for instructors; and it is believed that the sooner a community becomes convinced of this and practices upon it, the sooner will it extensively experience the happiness and beneficial influence which refined and well educated women confer on society."[41] These were her hopes in general, but in particular she wished a new school building in Hartford, erected by subscription. Her powers of persuasion were successful, for February of 1827 saw a subscription blank with fifty-two names on it, subscribing for ninety-seven shares of stock at $50 each, making the sum of $4,850. Many of the well-known names of the city were on the list,[42] among them Catharine Beecher's. In May, of the same year, the following petition was addressed to the State Legislature:

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[39] Letter of Catharine Beecher to John McAlister and Son, June 6, 1826. [*MS.* Dreer Collection, H. S. P.]

[40] Willard, Emma: *Plan for Improving Female Education.*

"To the Hon. General Assembly of the State of Connecticut now in session:

"The memorial of sundry inhabitants of the City of Hartford, associated under the name of the Hartford Female Seminary, humbly sheweth that they have raised by the voluntary subscriptions of the members of the said Association, about five thousand Dollars, for the support of a School for the instruction of Females in the City of Hartford, divided into shares of fifty dollars each, that under their direction a building has been commenced in said City for the accomodation of the proposed institution, to be finished in the course of the ensuing Summer, and to be furnished with suitable and convenient rooms and lecture and recitation rooms; that their design is also to procure a philosophical and chemical apparatus, together with maps, charts, globes etc. and a select library for the use of the instructors and pupils; that the association being numerous, and the institution intended to be permanent, the property belonging thereto cannot be safely and conveniently held and managed without an act of incorporation: Your memorialists therefore pray this Hon. Assembly to constitute them a body politic and incorporate, by the name of the Hartford Female Seminary, with such powers and privileges as are necessary and convenient for carrying into effect the objects of the institution, in the most beneficial manner; and your memorialists in duty bound, will ever pray.

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[41] Beecher, C. E.: "Female Education [*American Journal of Education*, II, (1827), 219–223].

[42] *Hartford Female Seminary Reunion* (1892), 5.

Dated at Hartford, the 7th day of May, 1827

In behalf of the association

NATHAN JOHNSON
THOMAS DAY } Committee''[43]
WM. W. ELLSWORTH

The petition was granted and the Hartford Female Seminary incorporated.[44] The news of the experiment was broadcast by the local papers,[45] the educational periodicals,[46] and from the new Seminary itself in the form of a Prospectus.[47] All told the same story of a new school with fine building and teachers, a course of study and fixed times for entering and leaving.

Early in November the local newspaper informed the residents that ''Excellent and convenient accommodations are prepared in the building lately erected for the Institution.'' They were also informed that the Seminary was committed to the care of Miss C. E. Beecher, who would be assisted by six other ladies and by a gentleman who would deliver a course of lectures on Chemistry, accompanied with experiments.[48]

If our curiosity is aroused concerning the omission of Mary Beecher's name we have only to note a wedding which took place on November 7, 1827, between Thomas Clapp Perkins and Mary Foote Beecher[49] and the mystery is solved. The day for opening the school in its new home was set for the twenty-first of November,[50] and we can almost see the flushed, excited faces of the girls as they filed into the new study hall and the satisfied expressions of the fathers who had made all this possible. The address for the occasion was delivered by Thomas H. Gallaudet, Principal of the American Asylum for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb. In it he discussed the weaknesses which prevailed in female education and then paid the usual flowery tributes to the possibilities of woman's "Influence." Said he: "Woman cannot plead at the bar, or preach in the pulpit, or thunder in the senate house. Yet hers is no trifling eloquence. Its power, though unostentatious in display, is mighty in result."[51] What Catharine's feelings were on this great occasion, we cannot even guess, but certainly they must have included a great satisfaction at the tangible results of her efforts and many high hopes for this, her realized dream, for it was considered "one of the most liberal arrangements for the education of females, which [had] hitherto been attempted in this country,"[52] and "liberal," indeed were the accommodations as Miss Beecher described them in 1829: "one large hall, where the pupils assemble for all the general exercises of the school, and where they are expected to study when not engaged in other school duties. Beside this, there are ten other rooms employed for the other purposes of instruction, such as a library, Lecture Rooms and Recitation Rooms. Most of these are furnished with black boards, and in some cases all the sides of the rooms are devoted to this purpose. Eight teachers are employed, and to each one, the care of not more than one or two branches is committed. Beside these, there is a class of eight or ten assistant pupils employed, who are preparing to become teachers, and who have the care of instructing one class an hour each day, in some particular branch."[53]

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[43] Record of Gen'l Assembly, Conn., May, 1827.

[44] *Ibid.*

[45] *Connecticut Courant*, April 23, 1827.

[46] *Am. Journ. of Ed.*, II, (1827) 252–253.

[47] *Prospectus of Hartford Female Seminary*, Hartford, March 1, 1827.

[48] *Connecticut Courant*, November 5, 1827.

[49] Family records, supplied by courtesy of Mrs. H. Knapp, Hartford.

[50] *Connecticut Courant*, November 5, 1827.

So began, under the most favorable of conditions, the life of the Hartford Female Seminary, a life that was to extend, with the usual good and bad periods that any life entails, for sixty-one years.[54] For four of these years Catharine Beecher guided the institution, spreading the influence of her vigorous personal-

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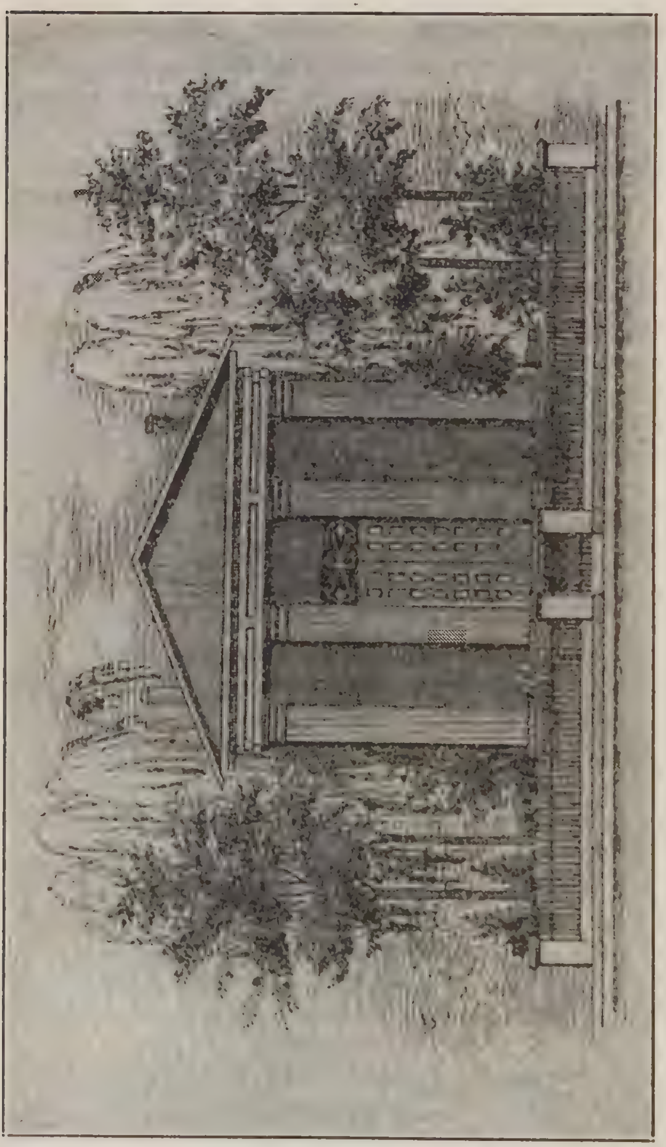
[51] Gallaudet: Address on "Female Education" at opening of Hartford Female Seminary, November 1827.

[52] *Am. Journ. of Ed.*, II, (1827) 252–253.

[53] Beecher, C. E.: *Suggestions Respecting Improvements in Education*, 24.

[54] The Seminary came to an end by corporate dissolution in 1888. [See Hartford Female Seminary *Reunion*, (1892), 9.]



HARTFORD FEMALE SEMINARY
From Diploma given in 1856
Courtesy of Connecticut State Library

ity over every phase of the school's life. Harriet Beecher Stowe, writing of this period of her sister's life, says her "efficiency and energy . . . was the wonder of everyone who knew her." Her "influence was felt everywhere, regulating the minutest details. She planned the course of study, guided and inspired the teachers, overlooked the different boarding houses, corresponded with parents and guardians."[55] She gave her very self to this child of hers, for the end of her four-year service found her utterly emptied of all energy,—physically and mentally exhausted. But the momentum the Seminary acquired under the dynamic force of her efforts, was sufficient to carry it along through the years of weaker leadership.

During the years 1827 to 1831, the Hartford Female Seminary was a very interesting institution. Experiments in organization, school procedure and classroom methods were tried. By 1831 a definite Course of Study had been planned so that "In order to enter any higher class, the pupil must have recited all the lessons of the branches required, to one of her teachers, either during the term or at the closing examination.[56] To Primary, Junior and Senior Class were assigned definite subjects.[57] And while it was recognized that "as instituting a regular course of study for females [was] an experiment, the time and the amount of exercises required [had] not been as exactly fixed as could have been wished," the minimum length of time tentatively set for completion of the Courses was three years.[58]

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[55] Catharine Beecher by Stowe, H. B., in *Our Famous Women,* 89.

[56] Hartford Female Seminary Catalogue, 1831.

[57] Studies of the Primary Class: Reading, Writing, Spelling, and Composition—Introductory Course in Botany, Mineralogy, Geology, and Natural History. First Course in Geography. First Course in Arithmetic. First Book in Geometry, with Holbrook introductory work. First Book of History. First Course in Grammar. The fifteen first chapters in Mental Philosophy. Studies for the Junior Class: Second Course in Grammar, Geography and Arithmetic. Ancient Geography. Ancient and Modern History, with Bostwick's Charts. The second, third and fourth Books of Euclid's Geometry. Comstock's Chemistry and Natural Philosophy. Finish Mental Philosophy. Astronomy. Composition. (Reading, Writing, and Spelling for all who are deficient.) Studies for the Senior Class: Review Mental Philosophy. The fifth and sixth Books and the Supplements in Geometry. The whole of Day's *Algebra.* Paley's *Theology.* Sullivan's *Political Class Book.* Butler's *Analogy.* Latin. Composition.

[58] Hartford Female Seminary Catalogue, 1831.

The methods pursued in the various subjects included in the course can well bear the scrutiny of modern eyes. Miss Beecher aimed in each study at the generalization of the leading principles and the avoidance of details. "Thus in Arithmetic," she says, "instead of the usual long and multitudinous examples under each of the ground rules, the pupils were trained to do one at a time, a simple problem in Common Addition, Compound Addition of Vulgar and Decimal Fractions, and then to point out wherein these methods were alike, and where they differed. The same was required in Subtraction, Multiplication, and Division. It was found that when this was thoroughly mastered, but few of the many other processes which fill our school Arithmetic were needful, or they could easily be acquired at any time in after-life.[59] . . . So in Geography. . . . For example, after the isothermal lines were thoroughly understood, and the productions and animals of the globe classified according to these lines, a pupil could tell the chief productions of any country in the world without further study."[60] And here is Herbart's "correlation" a half dozen years before his *Outlines of Educational Doctrine* was written,[61] "associating kindred and connected branches. Thus the lessons of geography and history would be connected with simultaneous periods in polite literature and the history of civilization, and the exercises in composition would sometime be arranged with the same general object."[62]

The procedures in other subjects were felt by Miss Beecher to be equally unique because, as she said, while she had heard that Mrs. Willard and others were teaching the higher branches, she knew nothing of their methods.[63] In her mathematics classes, she attempted "to excite an interest for discovering new or other methods than those of the text-book"[64] and a student under this method paid tribute to its success in 1892.[65] Composition was taught by Harriet Beecher and so successfully that "the composition hour was looked forward to as the pleasantest part of school duty; and the results were such as, on any other plan, would seem incredible in pupils of such immaturity, were the method pursued unknown.''[66]

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[59] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences*, 35.
[60] *Ibid.*, 36.
[61] Graves: *A History of Education in Modern Times*, 197.
[62] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences*, 36, 37.
[63] *Ibid.*, 30.
[64] *Ibid.*, 37.
[65] Hartford Female Seminary Reunion (1892), 19.

In all subjects, repetition and review were the methods employed to insure the pupil's acquisition of exact knowledge, while the specter of the fortnight-long, public examination at the end of the term loomed on the horizon to encourage the studious and threaten the laggard.[67] Every effort was made, however, to induce the negligent girl to study her daily lessons. In fact, Miss Beecher tells us that ''the weaker lambs of the fold'' were always given the most care and labor. This practice she felt to be unlike that in a great many schools where the pleasure of teaching the brightest and best and the desire to bring special credit to the school dictated the contrary procedure.[68]

The stimulus acting upon all students in the early days of the school was the hope of receiving one of the ''Honours'' or ''Prizes'' distributed at the end of each term. The 1828 Catalogue mentions a ''First Honour of the Seminary,''—a ''Second Honour'' and ''other prizes,''[69] but these disappear as time goes on, because Miss Beecher soon decided that ''emulation [was] productive of more evil than good.''[70] Thus the 1831 Catalogue says: ''No rewards or honors are given for performing properly the duties of a scholar, nor any punishment for neglecting them. No other motives will be appealed to but those of affection to their parents and teachers, regard for their own improvement and happiness, and the duty owed to God. Those whom such motives are found insufficient to regulate and restrain, will be expected to cease their connection with the Seminary as soon as this fact is ascertained.''[71]

One of the features of her school which Catharine Beecher, herself, thought worthy of note, was her attempt to correct mental and physical defects. She felt that her experience proved that, to a certain extent, any intellectual defect could be remedied. Thus educational training could and should secure a well-balanced mind.[72] It is not clear just how wide were her limits of "intellectual defects," but she cited, as illustrations, cases where a lack of reasoning ability and a deficiency of poetic appreciation had been supplied through training. Perhaps the modern teacher would hardly call these deficiencies "intellectual defects," but rather ascribe their absence to lack of training. But the fact that Miss Beecher directed her attention to these things, marked her as having departed from the well-worn path of her predecessors and many of her contemporaries,—teachers who belied their names and were mere hearers of lessons. Such she, herself, had been in the days of her school's infancy, when crowded conditions had rendered any other procedure impossible.

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[66] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences,* 41.
[67] *Ibid.,* 41.
[68] *Ibid.,* 42.
[69] *Hartford Female Seminary Catalogue,* 1828.
[70] Beecher, C. E.: On the Best Motives in Education, [*Am. Annals of Ed.* III, (1833), 28–32].
[71] *Hartford Female Seminary Catalogue,* 1831.

In her attempt to correct physical defects, she was inspired by an English lady, who came to the Seminary, in the spring of 1827, to teach[73] "what then had no name, but now would be called Calisthenics."[74] The entire school took lessons of her, having daily practice at recess time[75] and of these exercises, Miss Beecher later extracted those she thought best, added others and incorporated all in her *Physiology and Calisthenics* of 1856. Dio Lewis's "Movement Cure," so popular during the latter 1860's, Miss Beecher said, owed many ideas to her earlier work.[76]

Miss Beecher's introduction of new ideas into her school did not stop with calisthenics. "As the making of money was no part of her object in teaching, so every improvement which money could procure was added to the many advantages of the Seminary," writes Mrs. Stowe.[77] "A lecturer on history was employed who introduced charts of ancient and modern history, afterwards used as the basis of instruction."[78] We learn, too, that an elocution teacher was acquired, one Dr. Barbour, who was a Professor of Elocution from one of the English Universities[79] and later taught at Harvard.[80] A graduate much later remembered these elocution lessons and how the classrooms "resounded with vowell sounds and impassioned shoutings of unutterable aspirates."[81] Nor were these the only departures from the usual. Where text-books were found out of agreement with the carefully-formed opinion of the class or teacher, as was the case with the rhetoric book, a correspondence was opened with the author. In arithmetic and mental philosophy, Miss Beecher could find no book satisfactory for her purpose, so she prepared her own text-books, issuing them to her pupils in manuscript and later having them published in ordinary form. So her *Arithmetic Simplified,* published in 1833, was like "no book then in use"[82] and Professor Olmstead of Yale wrote her flatteringly concerning it: "Your Arithmetic I have put into the hands of my children, giving it a decided preference over those in common use."[83]

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[72] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences*, 44.

[73] Letter from Catharine to Dr. Beecher, February 16, 1827, in Stowe: *Harriet Beecher Stowe*, 37.

[74] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences*, 43.

[75] *Hartford Female Seminary Reunion* (1892), 20.

[76] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences*, 48.

[77] Catharine Beecher by Stowe, H. B., in *Our Famous Women*, 90.

[78] *Ibid.*

With her Elements of *Mental and Moral Philosophy,* published privately in 1831, she was treading on far more dangerous ground. The question, "What must we do to be saved?" had not been answered to her satisfaction by Calvinism and she sought now to find the answer in the laws of mind. She "gradually learned," she says, "that the interpretation of the Bible and the true mode of training mind to safety in both this and the future life were based on the nature of mind and the proper modes of control as developed in philosophical writings."[84] But this was not orthodox and alarm began to spread among the parents of her pupils. She felt, therefore, that regards for the interests of the Seminary, respect for family and personal friends, and deference to the opinions of leading characters in the intellectual and theological world, demanded that she subject her book to advice and correction.[85] In accordance with this decision, she sent copies of the work to "various gentlemen of candor and intelligence for their inspection and advice.''[86] So great was the dread of imputed heresy that she felt it necessary to assert that no member of her family or friends knew the character of the work until they received a copy of the finished product. The following letter written in this connection to Dr. A. Alexander, Professor of Princeton Theological Seminary[87] is most amusing and illuminating:

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[79] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences,* 37.
[80] Catharine Beecher by Stowe, H. B., in *Our Famous Women,* 90.
[81] *Hartford Female Seminary Reunion,* 20.
[82] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences,* 29.
[83] *Ibid.*
[84] *Ibid.,* 51.
[85] Beecher, C. E.: *Mental and Moral Philosophy,* note at end.

> ''Hartford, 18th Oct. 1831.
>
> ''Rev. Dr. Alexander
> Princeton, N. J.
>
> ''Rev'd Sir—
>
> ''I took the liberty, several months since, of forwarding to you a work which I had prepared for the use of the higher class of pupils, in the Institution under my care. I had taken the same liberty with several other gentlemen, most of whom, however, were personal friends to myself or to my father—
>
> ''The work was one embracing so many topics, & the time of most of these gentlemen being so very precious, the most that I hoped was, that some of them would find time at least to read parts of the work, & that in this way among them all I might gain valuable suggestions on all the subjects discussed.
>
> ''I have the pleasure of numbering among my friends, several of those who have been your pupils, and who have so often dwelt upon your name and character, that the wish has not seldom arisen that I might one day be favored with a personal acquaintance.
>
> ''In reading the book in question, several of those friends, especially Dr. Wisner of Boston, expressed the wish that I should converse with you on certain points, & to this my own feelings responded.
>
> ''I am now about to make a journey to Phila. & shall pass Princeton, but as I have no claims upon the hospitality of any family there, & being a lady, can not have my protection, & stop at a public house, it will afford me no opportunity to seek what I desire.—In speaking on the subject this morning, Mr.

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[86] *Ibid.*

[87] *The Churchman,* June 30, 1832.

Edwards, a pupil of yours in this place, tells me that Dr. Alexander is a man not studious of etiquette—that I might without being considered as intrusive, address him a letter stating my wishes, & if the circumstances of his family were such as to make it convenient, he would offer me the privilege of visiting for a day or two under his roof, if not, he will frankly tell me so.

"Trusting to this representation, I have freely stated to you my wishes, & the circumstances of the case, trusting to your kindness and christian sincerity, that you will enable me to do that which will be consistent with your own feelings & the convenience of yourself & family.—I shall leave here for Phila. on next Wednesday, the 26th of Oct. & shall return in two or three weeks. At either period I should be greatly gratified to have an opportunity of seeing you provided that suitable & agreeable arrangements can be made—

With Esteem & Respect, Yours
C. E. Beecher."[88]

It was probably in this connection, also, that she visited her father's friend, Rev. Nathaniel Taylor, in New Haven. His daughter, Rebecca Taylor Hatch, in her *Personal Reminiscences and Memorials,* speaks of these visits. "Miss Catharine Beecher," she writes, "was often a guest at our home when I was a child. I will not say that her visits, which lasted sometimes for weeks, wore out her welcome, but I will say that the children were not very fond of her. It may not have been that she never noticed us, but because she stole the hours from us which my father had devoted to us at the table; for during these intense controversial days he had very little time for his children."[89]

Education, in the mind of Miss Beecher, did not stop with the communication of knowledge. She constantly impressed upon her teachers that character formation was the great end, and to aid in gaining this end, she employed plans which we moderns have considered our very own. A species of "student government'' was created—''republican organization'' she called it—which found the scholars divided into ''circles,'' with a teacher at the head of each. Circles of Order, of Neatness, of Lessons, of Punctuality, and of Benevolence were formed, and while they came into existence as a matter of expediency when Miss Beecher was to be absent, they functioned more or less upon her return.[90] A hundred years ago, Catharine Beecher employed the ''advisory system,'' committing to each of her teachers a certain number of pupils, whose character they were to study, whose affection they were to seek, and whom they were to strive, by all possible means, to lead to moral and religious excellence.[91] Moreover, at teacher's meetings the names of all the pupils were called over and suggestions sought as to what each one needed. Every morning, Miss Beecher, herself, read the Bible and conducted the religious worship and talked to the girls of right and wrong ways of making themselves and others happy[92] Private meetings for prayer and religious conversations were held; girls who had ''commenced a religious life,'' were requested to exert an influence upon the doubtful by conversation or notes. Miss Beecher, busy as she was, found time to write letters to her pupils, urging them to become Christians. We trace the story of such a plea in her letters to Sarah Ann Terry[93]—letters full of good advice, prompted by a sincere desire for the girl's best good and written in a tone of deep affection. Chimerical as it always is to seek perfection, it was just that which Catharine Beecher strove for: intellectual, physical and even moral perfection in her pupils. She believed that by self-denial, patience, perseverance and ingenuity, a teacher could cure all moral defects. As she says: ''The indolent can be made industrious, the volatile be made regular, the ill-natured, amiable, the selfish, regardful of the feelings and rights of others, the obstinate and impracticable, yielding and docile.''[94] What supreme optimism was hers!

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[88] Letter of Catharine Beecher to Dr. Alexander, October 18, 1831, [*MS.* Gratz Collection, *H. S. P.*].

[89] Hatch: *Personal Remininiscences and Memorials,* 34.

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[90] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences*, 66.
[91] *Ibid.*, 46, 47.
[92] *Ibid.*
[93] Letters of Catharine Beecher to Sarah Ann Terry, [*Hartford Daily Times*, December 7, 1929].
[94] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences*, 49.

Of course it was necessary in a school of approximately two hundred pupils to have an elaborate system of rules. Modern youth with its precocity was still a century away and the children of the early nineteenth century, being drilled to obedience, must needs have something to obey. The result was a set of regulations which left little to the pupil's discretion. The rules of the Hartford Female Seminary could have been found duplicated in most other large girls' schools: Miss Grant's Seminary at Ipswich had forty specified regulations to which the 190 young ladies were expected to conform[95] and very similar were they to those at the Hartford institution. The latter were printed into the yearly catalogues so that pupils might learn them in advance and anticipate the punishments for non-conformity. "Things forbidden" and "things required" were listed in minute detail, so that the pupil's actions were directed from her six o'clock breakfast to her eleven o'clock bedtime and from Sabbath evening's quiet to Saturday afternoon's "mending of all articles of dress which are brought from the washerwoman as needing it." She was told when to study and how long, when to visit, and how much money to spend. She was "required" to attend church and family prayers and "forbidden" to "walk or ride with gentlemen without permission from the principal teacher" or "to receive visits from gentlemen except in the presence of some lady of the family."[96] In 1831, each young lady, in order to be admitted, had to write and sign the following agreement: "I promise while I am a member of the Hartford Female Seminary, I will not knowingly and intentionally violate any of the rules of the same, and that I will endeavor to cultivate such habits of mind that I shall not disregard them from forgetfulness." Every morning the young ladies must testify in regard to the preceding day which rules they had violated and how often. These accounts were sent to their friends twice during each term.[97] Naturally everything moved with institutional regularity under such a régime. The girls assembled in the main hall at the ringing of a bell and were called off to their classes by the governess. Upon being called they formed themselves in regular files of two and two, in the center of the hall, and passed to meet their teachers in the several recitation rooms. A monitor was placed at the head and at the foot of the stairs, to record any who were disorderly in going or returning. Those who did not recite remained in the hall either to write or to study. So the pupils assembled and were sent to classes, each hour, and at dismissal time, both morning and afternoon, were expected to leave the room with a courtesy.[98] How restful this orderliness must have seemed to Catharine after the nerve-shattering confusion of her earlier school.

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[95] Guilford: *Use of a Life,* 108.

[96] *Hartford Female Seminary Catalogue,* 1828.

[97] *Ibid.,* 1831.

Like the good general she was, she chose excellent assistants, their excellence being attested by the fact that so many of them were called elsewhere to establish successful girls' schools. Grove Seminary in New Haven, The Huntsville Seminary in Alabama and the Western Female Institute at Cincinnati were superintended by teachers formerly at the Hartford School.[99]

But even with a governess to manage one phase of the school and good teachers in the classrooms, there was great responsibility on the Principal's shoulders. She tells us that she had all the duties "which in colleges are divided among the faculty, treasurer and boarding-house keeper, and at the same time taught four or five hours a day."[100] Mrs. Stowe tells us that for some years it seemed as if there was no limit to what her sister could plan and accomplish.[101] She even found time, in 1828, to use her pen in behalf of the Cherokee Indians who were being driven out of Georgia by "cruel and unjust methods." Her sympathies were aroused; she was, as she says, "greatly excited" and as a result she wrote a circular directed "To Benevolent Women of the United States"[102] which was sent to a large number of ladies in various cities and by them in turn, to others. Meetings were held, and petitions were signed and much excitement reigned among the ladies, but we fear Georgia proceeded with her Indian business as before.

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[98] *Ibid.*

[99] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences*, 76.

[100] *Ibid.*, 81.

[101] Catharine Beecher by Stowe, H. B., in *Our Famous Women*, 90.

[102] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences*, 62.

There is always a limit beyond which human endeavor cannot go and Catharine's constitution eventually rebelled at the continued intensity under which it was forced to function. The Indian pamphlet and its attendant excitement was the proverbial "last straw" and Catharine found herself in the fall of 1829 utterly prostrated. Convinced that her collapse was the result of too great a proportion of the school's responsibilities resting on her alone, she began to plan for relief to herself and benefit to the school, by the addition of an associate principal to the faculty. Her own failing health was not the sole factor which led to this plan, although it was probably the agent which precipitated matters, for Catharine had felt for several years that certain interests in her school were being neglected, the most important of these being the religious interests.[103] Miss Beecher attributed this sacrifice to the fact that one person could not properly perform all the duties of principal and, unless literary concerns were made primary, "with the present views of society the institution must fail, amid the multitude of others of equal standing and reputation."[104] We suspect that underneath this rather flimsy reason was another: Catharine's own indecision on some of those religious questions which made her hesitate to teach beliefs and procedures which, in her innermost heart, she doubted, if she did not actually reject.

Miss Beecher's keen eye surveyed the field for possible candidates for such a position and came to rest unerringly upon one who had already a measure of success to her credit. Zilpah P. Grant, then Principal of a Female Seminary at Ipswich, was Miss Beecher's choice and in May of 1829 Miss Beecher wrote Miss Grant, offering her the position of chaplain in the Hartford Female Seminary to direct and control its religious teaching.[105] The inducements were a wider and more important field of usefulness and a thousand dollars a year.[106] We might well ask where Catharine Beecher expected to get such a large sum of money and we would learn that she expected it to be forthcoming from the same source which had provided her Seminary—the citizens of Hartford. Her happy success two years earlier had convinced her of the sympathy and liberality of the Hartford people and she thought, perhaps not wisely, that the time was ripe for a second appeal, since the citizens were being at the very moment urged to endow a college for young men, although Yale College was only thirty miles off, and "offered all and more advantages than a new college could supply."[107] With this in mind, Catharine wrote, in the fall of 1829, her *Suggestions Respecting Improvements in Education,* which she presented to the Trustees and which they published, thus bringing the matter to the attention of the general public.

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[103] Letter of Catharine Beecher to Z. P. Grant, May, 1829, in Guilford: *Use of a Life,* 141.

[104] Beecher, C. E.: *Suggestions Respecting Improvements in Education,* 65.

[105] Letter of Catharine Beecher to Z. P. Grant, in Guilford: *Use of a Life,* 141.

[106] *Ibid.*

The little booklet was cleverly planned and well written and, while it did not represent her first literary venture in this field, it was her first outstanding one and subsequent comments from editors and educators were sufficiently flattering to turn any but a level head.[108] Eleven years later a western newspaper referred to these "Suggestions" approvingly.[109] So far as Catharine herself was concerned, they may be said to have established her platform, the planks of which were hewn at the cost of much arduous and sometimes painful experience. These planks she trod with firm step for nearly half a century.

Catharine opened her campaign by assuming the magnanimity of her readers. She says: "Were the community only aware of what might be accomplished in those years, which, by the youth of our country, are devoted to education, could it be seen how much expense is vainly thrown away, how much time is painfully spent to no good purpose, how often the young mind is cramped and injured in some of its most noble faculties, by the discipline of the school room; could it be seen how much toil to pupils, vexation to teachers, and expense to parents, a little pecuniary aid, and improved methods of instruction would save, while the advantages of education would be increased a hundred fold, could all this be seen and realized, such effects would follow as it would now be deemed enthusiasm to pourtray.''[110] She then proceeds to cite and discuss the various defects in the present system of education because, as she very sensibly states: ''Until the community is apprized'' [of these things] ''the efforts cannot be expected which are necessary to correct them, nor that tone of public feeling which will demand such efforts.''[111] So Miss Beecher lists for the enlightenment of the community such ills as ''want of proper school books''; ''the habit of committing to memory words, instead of acquiring ideas''; ''the communication of knowledge . . . instead of teaching children to think, to reason correctly, to invent, to discover''; ''neglect of objects of sight to aid in illustrating and communicating ideas''; absence of a definite object with teachers to ''prepare their pupils to instruct others''; absence of the ''great principle of Division of Labour''; and more important than any of these and, indeed, lying as the basic cause of them all the fact that: ''the formation of the minds of children has not been made a profession securing wealth, influence, or honour, to those who enter it.''[112] Then she informs her friends of the great step they have already taken in making possible the Hartford Female Seminary, for in this institution most of the defects had been remedied, but the very popularity and success of the experiment had given birth to a new necessity—that of perpetuating the school and thus removing it from the status of the experimental to that of the established. The sum requested was twenty thousand dollars which was to purchase land, build and furnish a boarding house, and provide the seminary with a sufficient supply for the library, apparatus and school books, as well as cover the expense of another principal and three additional teachers.[113] One wonders at the special brand of elasticity the dollars of the early nineteenth century must have possessed or perhaps they were to be placed in the magic pitcher of fairy tale fame, for certainly no such sum could have spread, even paper-thin, over so many needs. But we may spare ourselves the strain of worry concerning Catharine's ability to make good her promises, for her ship in the air, inflated with her characteristic optimism, was pricked in two places, and down crashed her hopes against hard reality—the cold fact, that, in the case of conflicting claims, those of her sex must yield to those of the other—for the new college for young men had to come and her seminary must needs wait. Ah! that twenty thousand dollars! How many times in the next forty years did it seem to be within her very grasp, only to prove a disappointing mirage.

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[107] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences,* 65.

[108] *Révue Encyclopédique,* September, 1830, quoted in Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences;* Lutz: *Emma Willard,* 119; also *North American Review,* (1819) XXX, 323–337.

[109] Woody: *A History of Women's Education in the U. S.,* I, 352.

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[110] Beecher, C. E.: *Suggestions Respecting Improvements in Education,* 3.

[111] *Ibid.,* 4.

[112] *Ibid.*

[113] *Ibid.,* 74.

But the failure to secure the endowment was only one blow. The other came from Miss Grant, who politely but firmly declined the offered position. An appeal to her sense of duty from Rev. Mr. Hawes of Hartford,[114] additional letters from Catharine Beecher,[115] and a heavy one from the great Lyman himself[116] failed to shake her resolve. She considered the matter very carefully, consulted her former teacher and friend, Mr. Joseph Emerson,[117] and finally sent to Dr. Beecher her "Arguments for and against Miss Grant's uniting with Miss Beecher"[118] in which the negative won over the affirmative.

So Catharine's cherished plans for her beloved school came to nothing. A year or so later, there appeared a sunny gleam when she thought there was a possibility of securing Mary Lyon,[119] but the hope was in vain. Crushing disappointments, superimposed upon shattered health, bore down to the depths even Catharine Beecher's naturally buoyant spirit. But despondency never held her long in thralldom, and out of these gloomy shadows emerged a ray of promise. Lyman Beecher was contemplating removal to Cincinnati to assume the presidency of Lane Theological Seminary and, in the event of his going, he wanted Catharine with him. She looked with approval at the idea.[120]

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[114] Letter of Z. P. Grant to Mr. Joseph Emerson, November 11, 1829, quoted in Guilford: *The Use of a Life*, 142.

[115] *Ibid.*

[116] Letter from Lyman Beecher to Z. P. Grant, November 23, 1829, [*MS.* Mount Holyoke College].

[117] Guilford: *The Use of a Life*, 142.

[118] Arguments for and against Miss Grant's uniting with Miss Beecher, [*MS.* Mount Holyoke College]. (See Appendix A.)

[119] Letter of Catharine Beecher to Mary Lyon, July 10, ——? [*MS.* Mount Holyoke College].

[120] See Chapter V.

The 1831 *Catalogue* informed its readers that it had become necessary for the present Principal of the Institution to resign the care of it. And in this emergency she made the following appeal: "the writer cannot but look with confidence, to those who have been her former pupils, believing that they will sympathize with one, to whom they have so often rendered expressions of regard, in interest for the continued prosperity of an Institution, where perhaps some of their happiest and most profitable hours have been spent. It is in their power to aid in sustaining its interests. If they will take pains to find out what its real merits are, and seek opportunities to make known to others, its advantages, there can be no doubt, that their interest and efforts will most effectually promote its prosperity."[121]

Whether it was through the efforts of these graduates, or whether it was that the Seminary had acquired enough momentum under Miss Beecher to keep its wheels going for sometime to come, we do not know. But the school did not cease to function when its Principal resigned in September, 1831,[122] although she felt that it never afterwards enjoyed its former prosperity, the decline being the necessary result of the want of endowment. It is true that it went through many changes in Principalship during its life and that, not until the years 1863–1865, did the number enrolled in any one year equal that of Catharine's last year.[123] In 1874, she wrote: "In these many changes it was under the care of women that it prospered, while it declined whenever a man conducted it,"[124] but facts do not bear out her statement.[125]

Catharine Beecher relinquished the Hartford Female Seminary ostensibly because of ill-health.[126] It is quite possible, however, that another factor entered into her decision. Perhaps she already saw the rainbow of her budding plans for service, dipping into the west, and hoped to find, among less conservative, more virile conditions, her pot of gold. She did not leave Hartford without regret[127] and always she kept in her heart a special and tender place for this, her first school. She ever spoke of it with pride and affection and, though she was afterwards connected with other schools, she frequently identified herself as Miss Beecher, formerly of the Hartford Female Seminary.[128] Forty years later she was to return to it, her first and dearest love.[129]

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[121] *Hartford Female Seminary Catalogue,* 1831.

[122] *Hartford Female Seminary Reunion* (1892), 6.

[123] *Hartford Female Seminary Catalogues,* 1832–1879.

[124] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences,* 191.

[125] Under John P. Brace the number of pupils ranged from about 150–200; under Mr. and Mrs. Crosby the number became as great as 207 (1863–64); under Miss Ranney the number dropped to 96 (1860–61).

[126] *Hartford Female Seminary Catalogue,* 1831; *Reunion,* 1892.

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[127] Catharine Beecher's message, in *Catalogue* of 1831.
[128] Prefaces to her books.
[129] See Chapter X.

CHAPTER V

WESTWARD

In June, 1830, Lyman Beecher was in Philadelphia attending the sessions of the Presbyterian General Assembly.[1] During these sessions there was much talk concerning the "great west" and its importance in the country's future.[2] This was no new topic for discussion, for the west had been growing in population and influence since the war of 1812, the successful termination of which had enabled us to withdraw fearful eyes from Europe and turn them hopefully in the opposite direction. The west represented opportunity,—an opportunity which the more progressive had joyfully grasped, but the result was a lusty infant in the very process of forming those habits of life which were to spell ruin or success for the country.[3] The Presbyterians were naturally interested in the moral and religious significance of the west and as a result of this session Lyman returned to Boston with his interest in the "majestic west" "greatly excited and increased." "The moral destiny of our nation," he wrote to Catharine on July 8, 1830, "and all our institutions and hopes, and the world's hopes, turn on the character of the West, and the competition now is for that of preoccupancy in the education of the rising generation, in which the Catholics and infidels have got the start of us."[4] "I have thought seriously," he goes on to say, "of going over to Cincinnati, the London of the West, to spend the remnant of my days in that great conflict, and in consecrating all my children to God in that region who are willing to go. If we gain the West, all is safe; if we lose, all is lost."

The particular reason for Cincinnati as the seat of Lyman's efforts to evangelize the west was that it was the location of what was as yet a more or less hypothetical Theological Seminary. As early as 1825, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church had seen the expediency of establishing a western Theological Seminary and had appointed a Committee to seek a location and make necessary plans.[5] In 1827, the Rev. James Kemper of Cincinnati offered the Presbyterian General Assembly twenty acres of land in Walnut Hills if the new Seminary should be located there,[6] but action lagged until the stimulus of the Lane offer brought life to the plans. One of the brothers Lane, merchants of New Orleans, in a visit to the north had been at once pleased with the new manual labor schools he had seen, and dismayed at the lack of an educated ministry in the west. He immediately resolved to encourage the one and relieve the other by an institution. To this end he and his brother offered $1,000 annually for four years, and one-fourth of their annual income thereafter, to the proposed Seminary.[7] Early in 1829, Mr. Elnathan Kemper donated sixty acres of land from his farm and on the strength of this and the promised income, Lane Theological Seminary was chartered in 1829.[8] But the Seminary needed the impetus a strong man's name would give it and here was Lyman Beecher's opportunity to serve his God in a new and fertile field. On the twenty-second of October, 1830, he was elected President and Professor of Didactics and Polemic Theology.[9] Dr. Beecher did not at once accept, however, but debated the question almost two years before coming to a decision. We can well imagine the conflict in the mind of this man of fifty-five as he weighed the possibilities of his usefulness in the new field against his assured success in New England, as he contemplated uprooting his family from their accustomed soil and transplanting them into a foreign one.

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[1] *The Philadelphian,* June 4, 1830.

[2] *Minutes of Proceedings,* 1830–1833 [Presbyterian Historical Society].

[3] Guitteau: *The History of the United States,* 248.

[4] Letter of Lyman Beecher to Catharine, in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* II, 224.

Ohio had been a state for nearly thirty years, at the time of Dr. Beecher's first call there, having been admitted to the Union in 1803. Officially, its history had begun with the 1785 ordinance for the disposal of the lands in the west, which was quickly followed by a survey of the land, the organization of the "Ohio Company of Associates" and settlement. In 1788, the first band of settlers encamped upon the site of Marietta and from that day Ohio dates her existence.[10] On about December 24 of the same year, a second settlement was made at Losantiville, now Cincinnati, and thus was born the "Queen City of the West."[11]

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[5] Morris, Edward: *Thirty Years in Lane and Other Lane Papers*, 52–54.

[6] Stephen, John: *The Story of the Founding of Lane*, 1–4.

[7] Morris, Edward: *Thirty Years in Lane and Other Lane Papers*, 152–54; also *History of the Foundation and Endowment of Lane Theological Seminary.*

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Beecher, L.: *Autobiography*, II, 243; also, Morris: *Thirty Years in Lane*, 62.

In January of 1832, the election of Lyman Beecher to the Lane Seminary position was repeated[12] and in the spring of this year he and Catharine journeyed out to the west to look over the situation. What they found pleased them greatly: beautiful country, an attractive city and relatives and friends from home. Catharine's long letter to Harriet begun April 17, shortly after their arrival, and continued on May 2, is full of enthusiasm. Of the city she says: "[it] does not impress you as being so very new. It is true everything looks neat and clean, but it is compact, and a great number of houses are of brick, and very handsomely built. The streets run at right angles to each other, and are quite wide and well-paved."[13] The inhabitants she found as promising as the city: there were friends from Hartford, Guilford and Litchfield as well as relatives of her family. "I think," she writes, "a very pleasant society can be selected from the variety which is assembled here." Two weeks later, she adds: "I have become somewhat acquainted with those ladies we shall have most to do with and find them intelligent, New England sort of folks. Indeed, this is a New England city in all its habits, and its inhabitants are more than half from New England. . . . I know of no place in the world where there is so fair a prospect of finding everything that makes social and domestic life pleasant."[14] She tells Harriet "you can not (where running water or the sea shore is wanting) find another more delightful spot for a residence. It is on an eminence, with a grove running up from the back to the very doors, and another grove across the street in front, and fine openings through which distant hills and the richest landscape appears.''[15]

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[10] McMaster: *A History of the People of the United States,* I, 503–516; Turner: *The American Frontier in American History,* 133.

[11] Stephens: *The Story of the Founding of Lane,* 1; and *North American Review,* (1838) XLVII, 22.

[12] Morris: *Thirty Years in Lane,* 62.

[13] Letters of Catharine to Harriet, quoted in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* II, 266, 267, 268.

[14] *Ibid.*

The happy circumstances of his western visit probably decided the issue for Dr. Beecher, for on the ninth of August, 1832, his letter of acceptance was received at Lane,[16] while in Boston preparations were in the making for the great migration. Lyman's wish to have Catharine and Edward enter the new field with him was granted, for Edward had gone in 1830 to Jacksonville, Illinois, to accept the Presidential chair in the little, obscure, struggling Illinois College,[17] and Catharine was at her father's side when they started on their journey in the fall. With them were Harriet, George, the small Isabella and James and Aunt Esther.[18] Dr. Beecher preached his farewell sermon in his Boston Church on September twenty-third to a ''very crowded and attentive auditory'' and when, the next week, he made his departure, the *Boston Courier* spoke regretfully of his loss at a time of his greatest usefulness and popularity.[19] But he carried with him the good wishes of his friends and of many a stranger who had heard his fearless exposition of the right as he saw it.[20] This man, who was driven by the missionary spirit to forsake the Boston field because the west had greater need of him, was now conceded to have few competitors in his age.[21] Men pronounced him the most eloquent, powerful preacher they ever heard, surpassing in his greatest flights of oratory his highly gifted son, Henry Ward Beecher.[22] His name was sufficiently powerful to unlock the coffers of New England men of wealth whom previous appeals had left untouched and promises of endowments for professorships came with flattering promptness.[23]

The Beechers consumed some six weeks in their westward journey, for Lyman must needs preach and beg for his new Seminary on the way. Harriet's letters, written from place to place, chart the family's progress and tell of lost trunks, hospitable people, obliging coach drivers and fine scenery. The long daily drives were enlivened with singing and punctuated with the distribution of tracts to the wayfarers.[24] It must have been a pleasant journey, for Pennsylvania's hills in their autumn dress are sights to be remembered and the lavish richness of Ohio's woods and fields must have aroused admiration when displayed to eyes accustomed to New England's less generous soil.[25] And what more beautiful ending to a journey than a trip by steamboat from Wheeling down the Ohio, landing the travellers in Cincinnati in the middle of November, 1832.[26] On the 26th of December, 1832, Lyman Beecher was formally inducted into the Presidency of Lane Theological Seminary.[27]

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[15] *Ibid.*

[16] Morris: *Thirty Years in Lane*, 62.

[17] Rammelkamp, C. H.: *Illinois College, A Centennial History*, 1829–1929, 45.

[18] Fields: *Harriet Beecher Stowe*, 73.

[19] *The United States Gazette*, September 29, 1832, quoting the *Boston Courier.*

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] Howe, Henry: *Historical Collections of Ohio*, 824.

[23] Stephen: *The Story of the Founding of Lane.*

The year of 1832 had been filled with tragedy for Cincinnati. Flood, fire and cholera had laid a pall of gloom over the Queen City. At first the Board of Health had denied the presence of the dread epidemic, but soon the papers were filled with it.[28] "The din of the city was hushed and every day appeared as a Sabbath. For weeks funeral processions might be seen at any hour, from early morning to late at night. All classes of people were stricken in this fearful visitation."[29] It was because of the presence of this plague that the Beechers had prolonged their journey but by the time of their arrival, in November, the disease was on the wane.[30] It came again the next year and in 1834 but its depredations were less extensive.[31]

When Catharine came to Cincinnati she was suffering from nervous prostration.[32] Walnut Hills was the perfect environment to supply all the elements of a rest cure. It was almost

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[24] Letter of Harriet Beecher Stowe, quoted from Fields: *Harriet Beecher Stowe*, 74–46; and Stowe: *Harriet Beecher Stowe*, 60.

[25] *The Western Monthly Magazine*, (1834), II, 354.

[26] *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, November 17, 1832.

[27] Morris: *Thirty Years in Lane*, 62; *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, December 25, 1832.

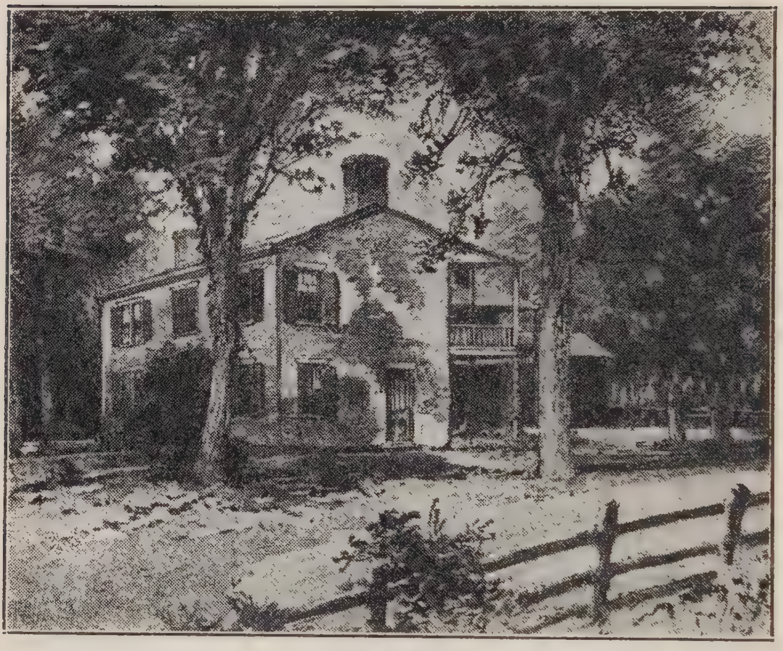
[28] *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, January–December, 1832.

[29] Quoted from *Life of Bishop Morris* by Greve: *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, 588.

[30] *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, November, 1832.

[31] *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, 1833 and 1834.

[32] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences*, 82.



THE CINCINNATI HOME.
From Lyman Beecher's *Autobiography*. Courtesy of *Harper and Brothers.*

two miles from the city and surrounded by a country Arcadian in its beauty. Catharine had yielded to its attractions upon her earlier visit and now Harriet echoed her rhapsodies. "You might ride over the same road a dozen times a day untired," she writes to a friend, "for the constant variation of view caused by ascending and descending hills relieve you from all tedium. . . . The straight, beautiful shafts of the trees as one looks up the cool recesses of the woods seem as though they might form very proper columns for a Dryad temple."[33] But rest was not on the program of the gods for Catharine, for the penalty attached to successful labor is more labor; and Catharine's reputation for effective school-keeping had spread to the western frontier. During her earlier visit in 1832, she had written home to Harriet: "The folks here are very anxious to have a school on our plan set on foot here. . . . They have fine rooms in the city college building, which is now unoccupied, and everybody ready to lend a helping hand.''[34] Later she was to hold a less pleasant opinion of the city's inhabitants and their willingness to ''lend a helping hand.''

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[33] Letter of Harriet Beecher Stowe, quoted by Fields: *Life and Letters of Harriet Beecher Stowe*, 80.

The state of Catharine's health precluded the possibility of her assuming any great responsibility, but she finally consented to provide superior teachers for a school and to do, herself, all she safely could to sustain it. She asked for $500 to buy furniture and apparatus and it was readily furnished.[35] On February 3, 1833, she wrote Mary Dutton, one of her teachers in the Hartford Female Seminary: ''. . . we must have a school here. . . . There never was a better opening or a greater demand for such a school. There is not a single school where a conscientious professor of religion ought to send a child. The pious people here feel their wants and yet for want of a better send their children to a lady who writes tragedies for the theatre and takes her pupils to see them acted.''[36] Miss Beecher then invited Miss Dutton to come to Cincinnati and start a school on a small scale. Harriet and she would help out but would not assume any actual teaching obligations. The advantages would be many: young ladies from the ''first families,'' agreeable friends already located there, the influence of Lane Seminary and of the parish connections, and the certainty of scholars for Catharine would engage them beforehand.[37] But the wishes of the Beecher sisters to escape accountability for the school were futile and in a letter of February 15 to Miss Dutton, Catharine says: ''Yet, after all, do and say what we can, I find that as much responsibility rests upon us as it will be any way safe for us to encounter.''[38] She then made Miss Dutton a definite offer: travelling expenses, board and $50 salary for the first quarter, after the first quarter $500 a year if the school amounted to fifty scholars and she would be responsible for $400 if the school was less than that. Her call was now urgent: she wanted her school to begin by April 1st.[39]

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[34] Letter of Catharine Beecher to Harriet, quoted in Beecher, L.: *Autobiography,* II, 268

[35] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences,* 82.

[36] *MS.* Letter of Catharine Beecher to Mary Dutton, [Yale University Library].

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] *MS.* Letter of Catharine Beecher to Mary Dutton, [Yale University Library].

Just when the Western Female Institute was opened, we do not know. The newspapers are silent concerning it. In the August, 1833, number of the *American Annals of Education,* however, appears a notice of the school:

"*Western Female Institute.*

"A school under this title has been recently established at Cincinnati, Ohio, by Miss Beecher, the well known Principal of the Hartford Female Seminary, and her sister, on the same general principles of aiming at intellectual and moral developement, rather than at mere acquisitions and accomplishments. The number is limited to thirty pupils, and two ladies of experience, besides the two superintendents of the school, are devoted to their education. To aid in Physical Education, Calisthenics are adopted as a means of relaxation and exercise, and instead of the practice of some schools . . . of allowing but five minutes to this daily session, we are gratified to learn that half an hour is devoted to it each half day. It is rendered attractive by music, and serves at the same time as a lesson in musical rhythm. We are assured by those who have tried both, that it is a far more efficient means than dancing, for improving the form and the manners, without any of its evils. We hope this institution will prove as valuable as that established at Hartford."[40] But Catharine's new school was not equal to her Hartford Seminary, although her pupils increased so that she had to move to larger quarters,[41] and in 1834 she added two more teachers from New England to her staff.[42] At this time instruction in Vocal Music and Calisthenics were given without extra charge and books were furnished to save pupils the expense of purchasing. Tuition was $18 per term of fourteen weeks.[43]

After two years of the Western Female Institute, Catharine's weakened nervous system gave way entirely. She could neither read, write nor converse. Her remedy brings a smile: "From sheer inability to do anything else, I was driven to journeying about to visit friends."[44] One is led to waft a prayer of sympathy to the ghosts of these friends for Catharine had developed by now an ego that made her conversation incisive and self-opinionated. At her best, she combined humor and kindliness with these;[45] at her worst, acerbity.

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[39] *Ibid.*

[40] *American Annals of Education,* (1833) III, 380.

[41] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences,* 82.

[42] *Cincinnati Daily Gazette,* August 20, 1834.

[43] *Ibid.*

Catharine left the Cincinnati school in the hands of the Misses Dutton and Tappan, but prosperity eluded the new Principals and they became greatly discouraged. Mary Dutton wrote Miss Beecher at Guilford, early in the spring of 1836, in so low a frame of mind that the latter hastened to reply in her best, optimistic tone. She urged the two teachers not to give up the school and promised to work for them. She closed warmly: "In conclusion let me say to you both, that we teachers are to work not for money, nor for influence, nor for honour, nor for ease, but with the simple, single purpose of doing good and the more we can bring our minds to feel contented with conscious usefulness, the more we shall succeed and the happier we shall be. And let me assure you that there is no sacrifice or self-denial for the sake of others but what does even in this life bring its reward. What is the benefit of cultivating our mind except as it adds to our means of imparting good and often when you seem to be going a treadmill round, you are in reality doing more for yourself as well as others than if you were cultivating your tastes and improving your powers in a more agreeable and less laborious way."[46]

Before she left the school, Miss Beecher had attempted to place the institution on a permanent basis. She had persuaded the Rev. Mr. Gallaudet, on a visit to the Beechers, to bring before the citizens the plan of purchasing the building in which the school was housed. A committee had been formed to raise funds to buy the place, but there was no man to take the lead and the committee were absorbed in their own affairs,[47] so the efforts died practically at birth. In 1836, she tried to secure endowment for the school from the Hughes fund. This fund was derived from the income of a valuable lot of ground, adjacent to the city and it had been left so that the trustees were at liberty as to the manner of applying the proceeds.[48] In April of 1836, an article appeared in a Cincinnati paper, reviewing the history of the bequest of Mr. Hughes and ending with this suggestion: "Several projects have been proposed . . . the plan proposed by one of the trustees was, the establishment of a female Seminary, bearing the name of Mr. Hughes, and sustaining the same relation to the public that the Woodward High School does. This might be made the means of educating with others, many indigent females for teachers, and thereby secure a greater number of competent instructresses for our female academies and Sabbath schools."[49] While the writer of this article was signed simply "Hughes," we suspect that Catharine had a finger in it and was the instigator if not the actual author. The trustees of the Hughes fund were in favor of the idea and agreed to give the money for such a Seminary on condition that the citizens would provide a suitable building. Catharine Beecher then started a subscription, headed by two gentlemen with a thousand dollars each, and several other gentlemen promised five hundred dollars each, but the whole amount necessary seemed not to be forthcoming.[50] Catharine's patience was now exhausted. In her neurotic state, the likely failure of her plans for this school, coming so closely upon the dashing of her hopes at Hartford, was too much for her and she released her anger in a veritable tirade in the Cincinnati papers, under the heading of "Facts for the Consideration of the Citizens of Cincinnati."[51] This was no judicious mixture of flattery and appeal as her *Suggestions* of 1829 had been; it seemed rather the spontaneous outburst of long-pent up emotions. It started mildly enough with the defects of female education and the things indispensable to their correction, but at the first writing of the words ''Western Female Institute,'' the flood gates of her wrath seemed loosened and the subsequent paragraphs give one a fairly enlightening picture of Miss Catharine Beecher when fully aroused:

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[44] Beecher, C. E.: *Letters to the People on Health and Happiness*, 116.

[45] Howe: *Historical Collections of Ohio*, 825.

[46] Letter of Catharine E. Beecher to Mary Dutton, April 12, 1836; [*MS.* Yale University Library].

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[47] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences,* 83.

[48] *Cincinnati Daily Gazette,* April 13, 1836.

[49] *Cincinnati Daily Gazette,* April 13, 1836.

[50] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences,* 83.

[51] *Cincinnati Daily Gazette,* February 21, 1837, and *Cincinnati Chronicle,* February 25, 1837.

''The Western Female Institute was established in this City, with the hope that it could eventually become such an institution. Four ladies conducted it on nearly equal terms. Two of them acted as Principals, and the other two were qualified by talents, education and experience, to take the same station whenever they were needed.

''But the question seems to be nearly decided, that the City of Cincinnati cannot sustain such an institution; not because the teachers have not given satisfaction to both parents and pupils, for abundant proof to the contrary exists; not because the public will not patronize the institution, for had proper accommodations been furnished, more than 100 pupils would have been connected with it at this time. For the last three years there have been constant applications from parents for places for their children, where they could board under the care of their teachers. But the teachers have scarcely been able to find board for themselves and all such applications, of course, were declined and the information widely extended in regard to the deficient accommodations of the institution. Nor is it because suitable and able substitutes could not be found as fast as the several teachers were called from the school, nor is it because the people of the West do not appreciate female talent and enterprise, for no part of the Nation gives more liberal and abundant proof to the contrary. But the reason is simply this: Education and the value of well qualified female teachers is so much more highly appreciated everywhere else than in Cincinnati, that it is impossible to keep such teachers in a place where so little interest is felt on the subject. Of the five teachers last connected with the institution [all have gone elsewhere]. The last and sole remaining one has had repeated offers of from $600 to $1000 per annum, in other places, and has decided to leave this place as soon as it is decided that no permanent female institution can be sustained here. Negotiations are being made for the purchase and transfer of the furniture and apparatus, as well as the teachers to another place and a few weeks will decide the case.

''Some questions on this subject now are offered for consideration. If a permanent female institution were established here, would it not draw strangers from abroad to educate their daughters, who would add both wealth and valuable citizens. . . .

''What has been done for female education in Cincinnati, compared with the advantages furnished to the other sex? There is the Woodward College. . . . There is the Cincinnati College. . . . There is the Medical College . . . a Theological Seminary. . . .

''What has been done for female education by the citizens of this place? One item only is known: $1300 have been given to the Western Female Institute, for apparatus, books and furniture. Of this, $400 were given by the citizens of the city, and $900 by those who are not citizens. And yet we are wearied with useless discant on the importance of female education. Everybody asserts that females have the most arduous and important of all trusts committed to their hands—the formation of the character of the childhood and youth of this nation; everybody allows that they ought to be fitted for these duties; every gentleman most gallantly says Amen to every worthy sentiment that is uttered on this subject, and there, as yet, the matter ends.

''What is the reason that in the largest and wealthiest city of the West, where every year assemble the friends of education, to declaim on the importance of female education; on the duty of introducing moral and religious instruction into schools; on the importance of physical education; on the introduction of the Bible into schools; on the importance of introducing music into schools; on the importance of governing schools without appeals to ambition and competition; what is the reason that a school sustained by females whose talents and acquirements can command the best situations in this country; where the Bible is a daily text book, where religious instruction is Christian but not sectarian, where order, neatness, punctuality and industry are sustained without blows or scolding, or appeals to ambitious competition, where physical exercise that is both graceful and agreeable is sustained—where vocal music is regularly taught to all the pupils, and where as complete a course of education can be secured as at any institution in the country; what is the reason, that such an institution cannot be sustained in Cincinnati; when other places of not half the wealth can do all that needs to be done here. In this state such places at Putnam, Granville and Ravenna, find themselves able and willing to furnish accommodation and support for such institutions as Cincinnati cannot afford. In several other of the western states, funds of from 8 to $15,000 are subscribed to endow such institutions, and Cincinnati is the place to which they send, to call away teachers who cannot be appreciated and retained here.

"What is the reason that when the Protestants are four-fifths, and the Catholics one-fifth of the population of Cincinnati, it is the Catholics alone, who can raise money to endow and sustain a permanent female institution.

"What is the reason that when citizens of Cincinnati are asked why these things are so, they uniformly reply that almost everybody is so busy in making money and taking care of his own concerns, and so few feel the obligations of public spirit, that any man who attempts to carry any public object that demands time and interest from his fellow citizens, has but small chance of success. May it not rather be hoped, that at least on the subject of this article, a want of knowledge of the facts is the chief obstacle, and that when the truth is known, all that is right and proper will be done. Such at least is the hope of

Charitus."[52]

This may have relieved Catharine's feelings, but it certainly was not productive of results as, of course, one would not expect it to be. And, after the fall of 1837,[53] no further announcements of the school appear. Catharine said, in writing of this school, in her *Educational Reminiscences* of 1874, that it came to an end because of the lack of strength to complete the subscription and because of the financial panic of 1837; but, whatever the cause, the school did fail and Mary Dutton went back to New Haven in debt. From August 10, 1838, to March 11, 1839, she and Catharine were busily exchanging letters straightening out their respective shares of the school's debt,[54] and in one of these letters we see that Catharine's natural hopefulness has returned. She writes: "We ought not to feel that our labours are lost because we do not get a permanent school. The good is done to your pupils which never will be lost and we shall yet see the permanent institution and you in it and before three years are past, I have little doubt."[55] But she was wrong.

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[52] *Cincinnati Daily Gazette,* February 21, 1837.
[53] *Cincinnati Chronicle,* September 16, 1837.

Catharine Beecher's Cincinnati days were not devoted exclusively to the interests of the Western Female Institute. While still living in the east, she had written two text-books (*Mental and Moral Philosophy* and *Arithmetic Simplified*), her *Suggestions Respecting Improvements in Education* and an article on "Female Education." She was now definitely launched on a literary career and the products of her pen appeared with more or less regularity. While in Cincinnati, she added several books and essays to her total output. Education, slavery and religion all shared her attention and in each field she made some expression of her views. *The Primary Geography* (1833), her contribution to McGuffy's *Fourth Reader* (1837) and her *Moral Instructor* (1838) attest her abiding interest in the educational field. More important than any of these, however, because presented to a large audience, was her "Essay on the Education of Female Teachers" written at the request of the American Lyceum. On the question of slavery, Catharine made, in 1837, what seems to have been her only utterance on the subject,—her *Essay on Slavery and Abolitionism.* In the religious field, inasmuch as she had not yet solved all the problems involved in the question: "What must we do to be saved?" she expressed her doubts and the answer to them, in her *Letters on the Difficulties of Religion* (1836). During these years, too, she was assembling the material for what proved to be her most popular book,—the *Treatise on Domestic Economy* (1841). The purpose underlying at least a part of this varied effort, is indicated in her letter to Mrs. Sigourney of Hartford in the spring of 1838:

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[54] *MS.* Letters of Catharine Beecher to Mary Dutton, [Yale University Library].

[55] *MS.* Letter of Catharine Beecher to Mary Dutton, August 10, 1838, [Yale University Library].

"Walnut Hills April 24, 1838

"My dear Mrs. Sigourney:

> "With this I send my winter's work,—a humble affair as to matter and manner, but dignified by the importance of the object at which it aims. Cannot you help forward the introduction of such a work into schools, by a little notice of it in the Mothers Magazine—for if mothers will interest themselves to have moral instruction in schools the thing will be done. I have not written the book for celebrity or credit but to do good, and this is the reason I feel at liberty to ask you to help me, as doing good is your meat and drink—so at least I hope and believe. I sent a copy of the work to Mr. Gallaudet seeking his aid in securing an eastern edition of the work, and I hope by his kind assistance it will be published in Hartford. . . . I intend to write several pieces of the lighter kind for Magazines and Annuals and I wish when you write you would tell me which you would advise me to write for—Do you ask what is my object? I answer honestly—to make myself known, and as popular as I can, with all classes of readers—I need not tell you that this may be aimed at without any craving for fame or notoriety, but as one means of increasing the sphere of usefulness. I want my books for children to become extensively used, and the more I can gain public favor the more likely I am to secure it."[56]

It would seem that Catharine Beecher's time must have been well occupied in these Cincinnati days, but we have not yet chronicled all her interests and activities. She took part in the work of the Temperance Society and in 1835 wrote the words of a song for the Youth's Temperance Society of Cincinnati to sing.[57] She mingled in the intellectual life of Cincinnati, notably in a social and literary union which Dr. Daniel Drake had formed for his daughter, then just growing into womanhood. A member of this circle later described a typical procedure:

"We met at half-past seven, when the Doctor called attention by ringing a little bell, which brought them to the topic of the evening, which might be one appointed before-hand or sometimes then selected. Occasionally a piece of poetry or a story came in to relieve the conversation. These, however, were interludes, rather than parts of the general plan, whose main object was the discussion of interesting questions belonging to society, literature, and religion.''[58] The writer recalled Catharine, whom he describes as an ''easy and fluent conversationalist.'' ''Indeed,'' he says, ''few people had more talent to entertain a company, or keep the ball of conversation going than Miss Beecher, and she was as willing as able for the task.''[59]

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[56] Letter from Catharine Beecher to Mrs. Sigourney, [*MS.* Connecticut Hist. Soc.].

[57] *Western Monthly Magazine,* (1835) III, 182.

Catharine found time also, during these years, to take an interest in Mary Lyon's plans and efforts for her Seminary at Mount Holyoke. The following letter, probably written in June, 1836, gives her objections to Miss Lyon's plans:

''Boston Friday Evening

''My dear Friend—

''I have just this moment rec'd yours and hasten to return you a reply. I expect to remain in Boston and vicinity till my father arrives & we are every moment expecting him. I shall probably remain thro' the greater part of next week if he comes this week—if he does not come so soon I shall remain longer. I think you had better come immediately as it may be of much use to you to see him as well as me.

''I cannot leave Boston until he arrives, and therefore as it is all uncertain when that will be, I cannot come to meet you. One thing, I must caution you about: I am very excitable just at present and cannot talk very long myself, nor bear to be talked to in a very animated way, especially on the topic where you and I feel so much. There are some conspiring causes that have produced a temporary excitability that will soon pass away I trust. I want you to come therefore prepared to be as calm as a clock when you talk to me, and not expect that I can talk long at a time. I can listen much better than I can talk provided you will not be too interesting.

''Before you come I wish you would make memorandum in writing of certain points of difficulty in regard to your plan. I will suggest these points:

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[58] Howe: *Historical Collections of Ohio*, 822.

[59] *Ibid.*, 823.

"1. It is the great object of great plans, to raise the profits of our profession, until men of talents can find it a profession they can enter with a fair prospect of as good a support as the other professions yield and till they can also afford to pay for a proper number of qualified assistants. If this is not secured, the profession will be as it has been, the resort of the dull stupid and shiftless that can do nothing else, while as a general fact it will be forsaken by energy and talents.

"The profession cannot be sustained by a missionary spirit —that spirit will send men forth as ministers and missionaries, but rarely as teachers. Therefore all plans that tend to sink the price of tuition will probably be discountenanced by the most liberal and expanded minds that are engaged in this enterprise. It is on this place that I fear you are starting wrong. Now I wish you to draw up in writing all objections to these modifications of your plan.

"1. Setting a high price of tuition, with the understanding that all whose circumstances demand aid shall be assisted either by giving them a part or the whole of the tuition.

"2. Setting a medium price for tuition, and having those who are able, pay rent for their rooms, and others be allowed to use them rent free.

"These are the modes I have thought of—but am not confident that others may not be better that would secure the same effect, viz., to have those who are able, pay what should be the tuition that would support competent teachers and enough of them in the female schools that require such opportunities as your plan proposes. Meantime I will write down all the objections to your present plan and then we shall be ready to start fair."[60]

Miss Lyon's reply of July 1, 1836, thanked Miss Beecher for her interest and criticism, but believed her objections were due to a lack of full comprehension of the situation. Mary Lyon had made a shrewd, psychological analysis of her problem and her solution was interesting:

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[60] *MS.* Letter of Catharine Beecher to Mary Lyon, 1836(?), [Mount Holyoke Archives].

"In the commencement of any great interprise," she writes, "the community are often not prepared to act upon the most important considerations, when they can be moved by less important, but more tangible, circumstances. . . . For this purpose, we have chosen the reduction of expenses, as compared with other large seminaries, not aided by the public. Every step we take proves it a good selection."[61] She concludes: "You speak of the importance of raising the compensation of teachers. In a list of motives for teaching, I should place first the great motive, which cannot be understood by the natural heart, Love thy neighbor as thyself. On this list, though not second in rank, I have been accustomed to place pecuniary considerations."[62] We have seen that when Catharine wrote to Mary Dutton in 1838 she, herself, indicated a similar attitude and as for Miss Lyon's clever plan to arouse interest in the community, Miss Beecher used an idea like it in her own later efforts.

This summer of 1836, Lyman's visit to Boston terminated as it had nineteen years before. Harriet Porter died in 1835[63] and a year later he married Mrs. Lydia Jackson of Boston.[64] Rumor has it that Catharine and the newest mother were never very congenial, so perhaps there was more than one reason for the migratory existence which Catharine pursued subsequent to 1836.

The dominant reason for the constant journeying, however, was no doubt another one. For some years, now, a great idea, like a flame, had been growing hotter and brighter in Catharine's soul, until it consumed her every thought. All former plans for service in the educational field became subservient to this one end. All personal desires and inclinations were offered up as sacrifices to this great purpose. All the strength of a dominant personality, all the forceful argument of a keen mind, all the velvet persuasion of a ready and fluent tongue were directed toward achievement of one of history's noble ideas.

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[61] Letter of Mary Lyon to Catharine Beecher, quoted by Hitchcock; *Use of a Life*, 225.

[62] *Ibid.*, 229.

[63] Beecher, L.: *Autobiography*, II, 367.

[64] Ibid., 410.

CHAPTER VI

THE GREAT IDEA

While Catharine Beecher was still directing the Hartford Female Seminary, her mind was reaching out beyond the narrow confines of her own institution and beholding a vision. She saw a rosy future when all women would be appropriately educated and, by their leavening influence, raise society to a higher level. In a letter to Mary Dutton, of New Haven, in 1830, Miss Beecher says: "In three years we could train both principals and teachers to go forth and establish similar institutions all over our country. I see no other way in which our country can so surely be saved from the inroads of vice, infidelity and error. Let the leading females of the country become well educated, pious and active, and the salt is scattered throughout the land to purify and save."[1]

Catharine Beecher was by no means alone in her belief that the future safety of her country lay in education. John Millot Ellis, who went to Illinois as missionary in 1825, saw the urgent need of better educational facilities for the settlers,[2] and his efforts eventually resulted in Illinois College. Lane Seminary owed its existence to the felt need of an educated ministry in the west.[3] In 1828 there had been formed at Yale College "The Illinois Association," later known as the "Yale Band," for the purpose of promoting education and religion in the state of Illinois.[4] Moreover, at the time of the Beecher removal to the west this part of the country was showing considerable interest in the subject. In January, 1833, the editor of the *Western Monthly Magazine* said: "If it be true, that knowledge is power, and that our own country will be great, prosperous and happy, in proportion to the degree of intelligence which shall exist in its population, it is equally true, that the instruction of youth is the most important means of producing these desirable results. We believe that the training of the young, should form a prominent feature of national policy, that it should be the care of society as well as of individuals that education should be disseminated through all classes of the community.''[5]

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[1] *MS.* Letter of Catharine Beecher to Mary Dutton, [Yale University Library].

[2] Rammelkamp: *Illinois College. A Centennial History,* 1–9.

[3] See Chapter V.

[4] Typewritten copy in Yale University Library of Sketch of Theron Baldwin by Smith, History of Class of 1827.

In August, 1833, the *American Annals of Education* fanned into a small blaze the glowing embers of this awakening interest in education by its article on the ''Juvenile Population of the United States.'' This presented the gloomy picture of 1,400,000 children without schools and ended on an appealing note: ''Yet we beg every friend of education to remember, that to maintain ourselves, even in this state, we need an addition of 4,000 schools and teachers every year, for which we have no provision, either public or private, legislative or benevolent. We again make our appeal to patriotism and philanthropy, and christian benevolence and ask how amidst the multiplied efforts of the day, they can forget the importance of an American Teachers' Education Society, whose sole object shall be to prepare and send forth a host of laborers, for this wide and extending field.''[6] The following month, the annual meeting of the Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers, originated in 1831,[7] was held in Lyman Beecher's church in Cincinnati which, we are told, ''was crowded, at almost every lecture, with an intelligent and deeply interested audience.''[8] Among these, we have no doubt, was Catharine. During the course of this week of animated discussion, a great sense of the educational need of the west was born. It was clearly recognized that the ''deficiency of schools throughout the western states, was great and alarming, and the character of those in existence lamentably defective.''[9] It was further realized that the evil was probably beyond the reach of legislative action and ''of a magnitude so vast as to render the single handed exertions of benevolent individuals, in relation to it, perfectly hopeless.''[10] What, then was to be the solution? A public meeting was held and the result of the discussion was the appointment of a central committee to "devise the scheme of an institution for the improvement of education, and the diffusion of useful knowledge in the west." They were "instructed to procure the appointment, and invite the co-operation of similar committees in the surrounding states and territories."[11] Nearly $300 was collected and it was expected that an agent would be appointed to visit the various parts of the state and invite the co-operation of the "friends of popular education." The underlying philosophy was expressed by Mr. Hall of the *Western Monthly Magazine:* "In order to accomplish any purpose which requires popular action, public opinion must be informed, and its energies awakened, enlisted and aroused into motion. The legislature will do nothing, can do nothing, and perhaps ought not to attempt to do anything, on a subject of such vast magnitude, and absorbing interest, unless instructed by the people."[12] So we see here, in 1833, the form of an idea taking shape, into which, a decade later, Catharine Beecher succeeded in breathing life. But the stage was being prepared in these earlier days: In January of 1834 an education convention was held at Frankfurt, Kentucky, on which occasion John C. Young, President of Centre College, Danville, Kentucky, delivered a speech on "Universal Education, a Pecuniary Gain to a Country."[13] On May 15th a convention was called in Missouri.[14] Late in 1833, the executive committee, appointed by the Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers at its September meeting, issued a circular which inspired a local magazine editor to spread the editorial ink over five pages in the cause of a "common school education" for everyman's child.[15] The same editor in commenting on Missouri's sign of activity, made this appeal: "who will go from the 'land of schools' to aid them?—for the too common result of such efforts is, that the interest and hope excited, sinks into despair, from the impossibility of procuring competent teachers."[16]

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[5] *Western Monthly Magazine*, (1833), I, 3.

[6] *American Annals of Education*, (1833), III, 361–367.

[7] *Western Monthly Magazine*, (1837), I, N. S., 120.

[8] *Western Monthly Magazine*, (1833), I, 470.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*

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[11] *Ibid.*, 471.
[12] *Ibid.*, 471.
[13] *Western Monthly Magazine,* (1834), II, 463.
[14] *Western Monthly Magazine,* (1834), II, 391.
[15] *Western Monthly Magazine,* (1834), II, 30–35.
[16] *Western Monthly Magazine,* (1834), II, 391.

There was one who was not deaf to the appeals being made. Catharine Beecher was deeply moved by the picture of the hordes of children who must grow into ignorant and sinful adulthood, unless immediate steps were taken to carry the torch of education to light their otherwise gloomy paths. She was consumed with a restless urge to do something, but a woman, in 1834, had to watch carefully her "p's" and "q's" to avoid being thought "unwomanly." The gushing pen of the much-praised Hartford "authoress," Lydia Sigourney, gives a fair sample of the mode in which a woman must work; "not to thunder in senates, or to usurp dominion, or to seek the clarion-blast of fame,—but faithfully, whether at home or abroad, to teach, both by precept and example, that wisdom, integrity and peace, which are the tutelary deities of our republic. As the termites patiently carry grains of sand, till their citadel astonishes the eye,—as the coral insect toils beneath the waters, till reef joins reef, and islands spring up with golden fruitage, and perennial verdure, so let her, of the weak hand and the strong heart, in the schoolroom, the nursery, or the parlor, even to her death-bed, labor in the cause of that knowledge, purity and piety, which are the glory of a nation."[17] And Catharine Beecher agreed with these sentiments. Her keen eye sought out and found the keystone upon which the success of any scheme must depend,—money—and she resolved to devote her time and energies to raising this commodity by a method quite appropriate to her sex. She wrote the details of her plans to Mary Lyon in the following letter in the fall of 1834:

"Miss Mary Lyon
care of Prof. Hitchcock
Amherst, Mass. Cincinnati, Oct. 15th 1834

"My dear Friend—

"I think you will take it as an omen for good when you learn that your letter arrived exhorting me to do just the very thing I have been planning for months, *i.e.*, the employment of my pen to awaken my countrywomen to aid in the very project you have marked out—My heart—my thoughts—my plans are with you—Take courage for I trust the Lord is with you also.[18]

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[17] *Western Monthly Magazine*, (1837), I, N. S., 130–133.

[18] The first steps toward the founding of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary had just been taken. On September 6, 1834, a meeting of the friends

"In the course of a month or two, if my health continues good, I shall send you the sketch of a plan of 'Letters Addressed to American Females by One of their Countrywomen.' And then I shall want you and Miss Grant to send me in return some of the things you want to have said.

"And now I want you and Miss Grant to help me in another department which is of great moment in accomplishing this great undertaking. You know money is the sine qua non to every project.—The more we can get of this the faster we can work. Now consider the vast profits that are made by school books. . . . Now I say let us devise a way of making the profits made by education go to promote education. Can not I make as good school books as Mrs. L. or Dr. C.—? If I can and will devote the profits to promoting this plan of ours cannot the friends of education unite to put these books in circulation and is not this a feasable plan for raising at least some funds for the object.

"Now my Arithmetic is already done—Pierce has agreed to publish it in Boston. I am going to get an enterprising publisher this side of the mountains to take the business here. I propose to write confidentially to the friends of education all over the union to ascertain how much they can do to introduce this work into schools with the understanding that at least six per cent (probably more) of all that are sold are to be devoted to promoting the moral and religious education of this nation.

"This book where it has been used so far as I can learn (the last edition) has given universal satisfaction—If it needs to be altered to be made the best of any book of Arithmetic, I can do it and (if you and Miss G. see anything in this line you can aid in, you must do it for me—) if it is simply as good as any other, the object to which its profits are devoted is a sufficient reason for the friends of education to exert themselves in promoting its introduction.

"On one point I want your advice and I want you to answer as early as possible to enable me to decide. My publisher in Hart-

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of Female Education had taken place at Ipswich, Massachusetts, and a circular to the "Friends and Patrons of Ipswich Female Seminary" setting forth the skeleton of the plan, had been widely circulated. Lyman Beecher's name appeared September 10, 1834, as one of fifteen prominent men who approved the plan. [Circular, Mount Holyoke College Archives.]

ford told me that the only difficulty he met with (except the price which he put much higher than any other Arithmetic) was the fact that it was written by a woman! Many narrow minded men would not even look at it—tho the liberal and intelligent would be above such influence. There was the same suggestion from the publishers I consulted at Boston.

"It has been suggested that a series of schoolbooks be proposed of which this is the first to take a peculiar name like . . . Franklin. I have thought of the name of Fellenberg as the great example of improved systems of education. "The Fellenberg Arithmetic by an experienced Teacher"—What do you think of it? In the preface I should state that the name was given as the name of the Franklin Primer and other similar names are given to give a peculiar name—to designate it from all others.[19] I wish you would send and get from Pierce a copy of my last Hartford edition and examine it. . . .

"Write and tell me all you think about this plan as early as practicable— All the friends I have consulted so far are pleased and promise aid. By the way I do not wish to make public the manner of employing the profits. There are many reasons why it should only be communicated confidentially to the leading friends of education thro' the country. While you use your discretion in this respect—tell me what you think of the book and how much you and Miss G. can help."[20]

True to her promise, less than two weeks later, Catharine sent Miss Lyon a draft of the "Letter" she wished to address to the women of her country. She added as a postscript to Miss Lyon this suggestion: "Whatever you can do in promoting my plan I should wish you to avail yourself of in promoting yours—for I consider them the same— The class of females you are attempting to educate are the very ones we must look to very extensivly to supply teachers for our country. Whatever, therefore, is made by your instrumentality in introducing the book into schools I should wish you to feel you can control according to your judgment in promoting your plan—consulting with me of course on the subject.''[21] The address follows:

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[19] Miss Beecher abandoned this idea of a series of books and the offer was made by Truman and Smith to President McGuffy. His *Eclectic Readers* were the result. (*Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, December 31, 1838.)

[20] *MS.* Letter of Catharine Beecher to Mary Lyon, October 15, 1834, [Mount Holyoke College Archives].

''Miss Mary Lyon
Ipswich, Mass. Cincinnati, Oct. 27, 1834
''Dear Friend;

''I address you as a friend of education and as one interested in the improvement and preservation of our common country. The following facts I obtain from the Annals of Education for Aug. 1833.'' [One and one-half million children—foreigners—teachers needed etc.] ''What is the end of these things to be? What will be the destiny of this nation when this mass of heathenish ignorance takes control so extensively as it soon must do? Let the philanthropist the patriot and the christian look abroad to see what is doing to meet this extreme exigency. What is doing? Where is the vast accumulation of funds—of wisdom—of experience and of activity necessary to meet such appalling demands? Indeed those of us who live in the West are beginning to grow faint at heart when we think of the immense disproportion of means to meet this mighty demand and in moments of discouragement to feel that there is no help sufficient to save us—that this nation will grow up to the predominating influence of ignorance, fanaticism, anarchy and misrule. Let any intelligent man take the data given above and compare them with what has been done the past five years, or with what is now doing and with almost despairing heart he will join in the declaration that we must have come to an alarming crisis—and that unless means and efforts are almost miraculously increased the coming generation will soon as a majority be ignorant and debased, and then our country is lost. But this must not be— We cannot give up our country. Every benevolent mind must be aroused at the danger—new measures must be devised—new efforts be made and the work of saving this great nation be undertaken as a work that with the blessing of Providence can and shall be done. It is with the hope of accomplishing something in this way that I address you in reference to a plan now in embryo with this object in view. We want immediately an army of well qualified teachers. How are we to raise them? One way is to enlist female energies—There are multitudes of females all over our country and in all the various stations of life, who if only qualified by proper instruction have the leisure, piety and self-denying zeal necessary for such a work. We need some organized system of operation in the first place to prepare teachers,—and in the next place to station them in appropriate fields of labor—From my extensive acquaintance in New England and other parts of this country I am satisfied that were there such an organization that could send forth the word 'Let all who wish to engage in promoting the Christian education of this nation come hither and they shall be fitted and sent forth' that hundreds would arise at the call. We must have such an organization. We must have the means of educating and sending forth all who are willing and competent. But also every great enterprise needs money both to start and sustain it. How are funds to be secured for this? One plan has occurred to me." [Here she tells again of her writing of school books]. . . .

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[21] *MS.* Letter of Catharine Beecher to Mary Lyon, October 27, 1834 [Mount Holyoke College Archives].

"I am willing to employ my time in making school books and to devote the profits (of course reserving my own maintenance) to the cause of education. . . . I am desirous that no public mention be made of this plan either in print or in public meetings. It would be an ostentatious display from which I shrink and would in some way operate unfavorably to the plan proposed."[22]

The request of the American Lyceum for an address from Miss Beecher gave her the opportunity to extend her views to a wider audience and her "Essay on the Education of Female Teachers," presented at the meeting of May 8, 1835, was an enlarged and polished edition of her "Address" as she had sent it to Miss Lyon the previous fall.

We may well pause a moment to inquire why Catharine Beecher, the avowed champion of woman in her struggle for a more equitable division of the nation's educational opportunities, should seemingly have dropped her cherished cause to take up that of the west's ignorant children. But had she done so? Not at all. In her mind, the interests of young children and of women were one and the same. In laboring, therefore, to secure the proper education of young children, she was making a direct effort to secure the interests and rights of women.[23] The agitation about woman's rights and wrongs was beginning to excite public notice, but Catharine Beecher's solution was the training of woman for her ''true profession'' as educator and chief minister of the family state.[24] Now the Beechers have been characterized as opportunists[25] and whether the characterization be generally true or not, Catharine certainly exhibits the traits in this instance. Here is her version, from the vantage point of a dozen years: ''Inasmuch, then, as popular education was the topic which was every day rising in interest and importance, it seemed to me, that, to fall into this current, and organize our sex, as women, to secure the proper education of the destitute children of our land, was the better form of presenting the object, rather than to start it as an effort for the elevation of woman. By this method, many embarrassments would be escaped, and many advantages secured.''[26] The possibility of this single solution of two weighty difficulties was made even firmer in Miss Beecher's mind as her travels in search of health carried her now to New England, now to the western states. In the one locality she found teachers wishing for schools and, in the other, pupils needing them, so that all that seemed necessary was the fitting of the two together. Encouragement came from principals of eastern schools, who promised an abundance of teachers, and from men of prominence in the west, who vigorously applauded the idea.[27] But money and leadership were both necessary, and while Miss Beecher's health and sex both rendered her personal generalship impossible, she was willing to do her bit on the pecuniary side. We have seen her expressed willingness to write text-books and the assignment of her completed Arithmetic to this end.

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[22] *Ibid.*

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[23] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy for the Wrongs of Women*, 97.

[24] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences*, 101.

[25] Hibben: *Henry Ward Beecher;* Rourke: *Trumpets of Jubilee; Catholic World* (1871), XII: ''Beecherism and its Tendencies.''

[26] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy for the Wrongs of Women*, 101.

[27] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences*, 94–97; *True Remedy for the Wrongs of Women*, 84–95.

During the years of the Western Female Institute she had in addition, been preparing her two books on Domestic Economy, one a text-book and the other a Receipt Book. The proceeds of these were to go toward the cause.[28] At one time (1833–1836) she had thought her Cincinnati school might serve as a training center for teachers, in fact, it was with such a plan in perspective, that she consented to establish the school. The plan was to begin with what should eventually prove the model school, which would be supported by tuition fees. It was hoped that when those who conducted it had gained the public confidence at the west, funds would be raised, both east and west, which would enable them to add the teacher's department, where young women would be qualified to be teachers and then aided in finding schools in the many thriving but destitute portions of the country. When this much had been accomplished, it was anticipated that all other needful agencies for locating teachers would easily be secured.[29] But her plans for the school failed.[30] At another time she had hoped to assemble eastern teachers in Cincinnati and send them from there to destinations in the western states,[31] but this idea was discouraged. Mary Lyon, when appealed to, considered it practically impossible to supply teachers: "if I can only say I wish to send a teacher to Miss Beecher to spend a few weeks at Cincinnati in preparing for an unknown field with an unknown salary."[32] "Just write to me of a particular place by name and that a teacher can have proper assurance of her paying expenses and a salary of say only $100, and I have little doubt that I can send you a good teacher with full consent of friends as soon as I can find a safe escort."[33] But of these things Miss Beecher, obviously, could not make assurance.

The friends of western education who were on the scene, were intensely interested in the problem as we have seen, but the interest seemed to have consumed itself in talk. Action moved at a snail's pace. The Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers at its annual meeting of October 4, 1836, in Cincinnati, passed, among its "Resolutions," one calling the attention of legislatures in the various western states, "to the propriety of appropriating a portion of their share of the surplus revenue to literary institutions, especially common schools and female academies, so as to educate, in morals and science, the whole population of the south and west."[34] The Beechers were represented in the move, for Edward Beecher, still President of Illinois College, was a Vice-President of the Literary Institute.[35] In March, 1837, the editor of the *Western Monthly Magazine* expressed great satisfaction at the exertions which the "Great West" was making in the "noble cause of education." He wrote: "New Literary Institutions are springing into existence in every state; and those which have been for some time in operation, are multiplying their faculties, increasing their activity, and extending their means of usefulness."[36] But as one recent writer has put it: "Our social and individual minds are naturally conservative,"[37] and so the very breadth of the area over which the sentiment was spreading while giving a magnitude and bulk to the movement, at the same time increased the starting inertia and rendered progress heart-breakingly slow. The untaught small westerners had added a decade of cubits to their stature and were still strangers to the three "R's," while in their places were equal millions of boys and girls in the same state of deplorable ignorance.

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[28] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences*, 86; *True Remedy for the Wrongs of Women*, 83.

[29] Beecher, C. E.: Address to the Protestant Clergy in the United States, 1846.

[30] See Chapter V.

[31] *Christian Examiner*, (1846), XL, 53.

[32] Letter of Mary Lyon to Catharine Beecher, quoted in Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences*, 97–99.

[33] *Ibid.*

Catharine Beecher felt that the time for action had arrived. She had ceased to expect cooperation from the citizens of Cincinnati in general and even the College of Teachers, which had launched the idea so enthusiastically in 1833, seemed to her to end its projects in talk.[38] Miss Beecher, accordingly, in 1843 and 1844, put forth efforts to secure a voluntary organization which should raise funds and employ agencies to promote popular education. Since she preferred always to secure for her schemes the approval of cultured women, her first measure was to consult ladies of "influence and good sense" in the chief Protestant sects both at the east and west, and, after gaining approval for this attempt, she organized a committee of ladies in Cincinnati to cooperate. Her brother-in-law, Calvin E. Stowe, organized a committee of gentlemen from several religious denominations in Cincinnati to cooperate with the ladies.[39] One of the eastern women whom she drew into the circle was Zilpah P. Grant, now Mrs. Banister, of Newburyport, Massachusetts. The thousand cares of her school at Ipswich had taken their toll of Miss Grant's health as they had of Catharine Beecher's and she, too, had been forced to relinquish a beloved institution. In 1839 she had left the Ipswich Seminary and in 1841 married Wm. B. Banister.[40] In the fall of 1844, Catharine wrote Mrs. Banister from Boston:

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[34] *Western Monthly Magazine,* (1836), V, 668.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] *Western Monthly Magazine,* (1837), N. S., I, 141.

[37] Woody, Thomas: *A History of Women's Education in the United States,* II, 40.

[38] *Cincinnati Daily Gazette,* February 21, 1837.

"Boston Thurs, 17, 1844

"My dear Mrs. Banister:—

"If you are at home and it is convenient for you to receive a visit from an old friend, I propose to spend a day or two with you to renew old friendships and to talk over some plans for promoting the cause of education in our country. Will you drop me a line, as soon as possible after receiving this, as it may be needful for me to come on Saturday and leave on Monday.

"Yours with much esteem and affection

CATHARINE E. BEECHER."[41]

With what success she introduced her plan at Newburyport, we are acquainted in her letter to Mrs. Banister on January 20, 1845:

"Boston, Monday, January 20, 1845

"My Dear Friend:

"In my visit to Marblehead I was 'most killed with kindness' —company invited to dine with me—company to meet in the evening and callers all the next day till I left. Two hours were set apart in the morning to talk over my plans and then I was so near crazy I could only say that I could not say anything. So Mrs. M. offered to become a subscriber to the fund and this was all. Still, there was so much interest and kindness that I believe whatever I shall ask further will not be refused. . . With this I send copies of the book as it is now decided (?) on. . . Now I will set forth the good work I hope to see accomplished by your agency. I send the 'Measures proposed for consultation' and the 'letters'. . . Have a consultation with those who may consent to be such a Committee on the several points submitted and send me your views and their views. Next I want you and those you can get to act with you . . . see if you all together can not carry out the measure proposed . . . by sending a lithographed letter and a copy of the Address and Plan to the Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts. I can get the address put at cost, probably and the lithographing the letters would cost not more than $10 for 300 copies which would be as many as would be needed—My brother has a list of all the Clergymen of our order in this state.

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[39] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences*, 101, 102; *True Remedy for the Wrongs of Women*, 98.

[40] *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 576.

[41] *MS.* Letter of Catharine Beecher to Mrs. Banister, [Mount Holyoke College Archives].

"Now I will tell you why I want you to get this done rather than any one else—In the first place I want the first move made in old Massachusetts—the first home of the Pilgrims whence schools and churches have spread over the nation—then I want it done by the true orthodox children of the Pilgrims and not by Unitarians who have departed from the faith of the fathers—Lastly I want it done by your instrumentability because the plan was matured at your house, because you are about as much its author as I am, and because the sympathy and kindness I met under your roof actually secured all that has followed, and I want to give you and your friends the credit due—To this I would add, what perhaps is more important than all—that the first efficient move decides an enterprise and I feel as if there was more real interest and strength in your circle at N. to make it than I can muster among the orthodox here. If you can make this measure go—it will set the current and I can make it flow (by the aid of other friends) in other states, with far greater ease and certainty. . . Will you consult and let me hear from you as soon as possible. I only want you to agree to do it. It need not be done for this six weeks, as it is best to wait till the public press has noticed the work, and it will be near a month before it will be in market.''[42]

The Address referred to was Miss Beecher's ''American Women: Will you save your Country'' and was addressed to ''Benevolent Ladies in the United States.'' In more elaborate form it came from the press in the summer of 1845 as the volume *The Duty of American Women to their Country.* Prefacing the ''Address'' was a message to clergymen urging their cooperation and influence in the formation of ladies into ''Committees of Collection'' to solicit subscriptions for the object. In these two vehicles, Miss Beecher painted her vivid picture of the two million children growing up in ignorance and vice and pointed with prophetic finger as she described the unspeakable horrors of the French Revolution and laid them at the doors of ignorance. Her call to women was a challenge,—a challenge to offer themselves as teachers or to exert every ounce of energy to help provide money for others to enter the field in this capacity. The book and address were distributed, the ''Committee of Ladies'' forwarding them to others likely to be of assistance. The result of these two works of Miss Beecher has scarcely been appreciated, but they were far reaching in effect. Women responded to that appeal: money came in, a society to carry out its idea sprang into existence in Boston and out in Milwaukee today stands tangible evidence of its effectiveness.

In Boston, the printer's ink was scarcely dry upon Miss Beecher's ''Duty of American Women to their Country,'' when the Mission Sewing Circle of the Mount Vernon Church decided to do something at once for the object, though no one knew just how to begin. After some fruitless search for counsel, they wrote to Professor Calvin Stowe, at Cincinnati, who urged them to begin without delay.[43] On February 14th, 1846, the organization meeting took place and a Society was formed ''for selecting, aiding, and sending pious female teachers to the west, as soon as suitable preparations could be made.'' One of the two speakers of the occasion was Rev. Edward Beecher,[44] who had left Illinois College in 1844 to accept a call to Salem Street Church, Boston.[45] Edward informed the ladies that theirs was the "first effort to take hold with system of a department too long neglected—the organization of females—and the systematic application of female power in the great work of education."[46] The new society received favorable comment from the press,[47] which kept the public informed from time to time of the progress made. By August 18, 1846, the infant society had already to its credit the placement of teachers from Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine and Massachusetts and still had before it eligible situations in Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Arkansas, and Texas.[48] The teachers were paid their travelling expenses and were aided in procuring a comfortable outfit but the society did not make itself economically responsible beyond that. No preparation was given to the teachers by the society—they got their preparation where they could. It was suggested to them, however, that a study of vocal music, drawing, painting and fancy needle-work would add to their acceptability.[49] The various procedures of the Boston Ladies' Society did not entirely please Catharine Beecher. In fact, her objections were fourfold. She disapproved of the restrictions of the teachers to the one denomination of Congregationalism, of the lack of preparation given the prospective teachers, of the uneconomical methods of the society in transferring teachers and, most strenuously of all, of the fact that all their efforts were confined to the aid of those places that were so prosperous and united that they could furnish suitable pledges for the comfortable residence and support of the teachers sent to them, while those which could not furnish such pledges were left without aid.[50] Much later she gave the society credit for having done a "noble work."[51] Undoubtedly much good was accomplished, although the number of teachers transferred was small,—in the first six years of its existence, the society sent only 100 teachers to the newer states.[52] In 1853 the Boston Ladies' Society united with the Board of National Popular Education as the "Boston Branch of the Board of National Popular Education."[53]

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[42] Letter of Catharine Beecher to Mrs. Banister, January 20, 1845, [Mount Holyoke College Archives].

[43] Pamphlet: *History and Constitution of the Ladies Society for the Promotion of Education at the West,* [Massachusetts Hist. Soc.].

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[44] *Ibid.*

[45] *Second annual report of Boston Ladies Society for Evangelizing the West;* Rammelkamp: *Illinois College. A Centennial History.*

[46] Pamphlet: *History of Ladies' Society for Promotion of Education at the West.*

[47] *Boston Daily Journal,* February 12, 1846.

[48] *Boston Daily Journal,* August 18, 1846.

[49] *Fourth annual report of Boston Ladies' Society,* [Mass. Hist. Soc.].

[50] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy for the Wrongs of Women,* 156–179.

[51] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences,* 105.

In the meantime Catharine Beecher herself was pursuing a man. In fact, she tells us shamelessly that she pursued seven, six of whom turned deaf ears to her entreaties. For over a year she wrote, talked, argued, persuaded and travelled, in various directions, in her efforts to secure the right man to represent her enterprise.[54] It soon became apparent that no man possessing the desired position and character could be obtained until funds were actually secured for his support. To gain this, Miss Beecher, in 1845, made a tour of Cincinnati, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and other cities with her younger brother Thomas, who visited the clergymen and other gentlemen on her behalf, made arrangements for the public meetings of ladies and at these meetings delivered her address "The Evils Suffered by American Womanhood and American Children: The Cause and the Remedy."[55] In this address Miss Beecher very effectively tells the old story: the illiteracy of the western population caused the evils the children suffered and the lack of appropriate, remunerative labor, the evils of womanhood. Her view was eminently sane and logical. She was certainly correct in this statement of values: "Instead of spending time and money and employing agents to save the children of our country from ignorance and sin, the whole benevolent energies of the Christian world are engaged to remedy the evils that spring from this neglect. Children are left to the full influence of ignorance and neglect till moral health and strength are ruined, and then the cure is sought in temperance lectures, Bible, tracts, colporteurs, and home missions. If all the labor and money spent for these objects at the west, for the last twenty years, had been employed in securing, for the generation now on the stage, six hours a day of good moral and intelligent training by well qualified teachers, who will affirm that the result would not have been better?'' The remedy was pictured by this Arcadian vision: ''If our success equals our hopes, soon, in all parts of our country in each neglected village, or new settlement, the christian female teacher will quietly take her station, collecting the ignorant children around her, teaching them habits of neatness, order, and thrift; opening the book of knowledge, inspiring the principles of morality. Soon her influence in the village will create a demand for new laborers, and then she will summon from among her friends at home, the nurse for the young and the sick, the seamstress and the mantuamaker; and these will prove her auxiliaries in good moral influences, and in sabbath school training. And often as the result of these labors, the church will arise, and the minister of Christ be summoned to fill up the complement of domestic, moral, and religious blessings. Thus, the surplus of female population will gradually be drawn westward, and in consequence the value of female labor will rise at the east, so that capitalists can no longer use the power of wealth to oppress our sex. Thus, too, the profession of a teacher will gradually increase in honor and respectability, while endowed institutions will arise to qualify woman for her profession, as freely as they are provided for the other sex. Then it will be deemed honorable and praiseworthy for every young and well-educated woman, of whatever station, to enter this profession, and remain in it till pure affections and developed intellect will find full scope and happy exercise for all the cultivated energies conferred by heaven, alike for her own enjoyment and the good of others.''[56]

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[52] *Sixth annual report of the Boston Ladies' Society*, (1852), [Mass. Hist. Soc.].

[53] Barnard: *Am. Journal of Ed.* (1865), XV, 273.

[54] Note: Henry Barnard was one of the men invited but declined because he thought the plan altogether too narrow for a system of national education to rest or rise on. [Barnard: *Am. Journal of Ed.* (1865), XV, 272.]

[55] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy for the Wrongs of Women*, 100; *Educational Reminiscences*, 106.

The tour and address were successful and Catharine felt that she had enough assurances to insure a salary to a suitable agent as soon as he could be found. Meantime, the printed volume had reached Governor Slade of Vermont, who became deeply interested in the subject, and expressed a desire to act in some way to promote the enterprise. Catharine hearing of this wrote him in November of 1845, explaining the movement on foot and urging his acceptance of the agency. We note that she has taken a leaf from Mary Lyon's book as we read the plan she presents to Governor Slade: "In its most comprehensive form this is an effort to place American Women in that true position designed by God, and relieve them from the miseries consequent on their present false position. Our Creator designed woman to be the chief educator of our race and the prime minister of our family state, and our aim is to train her for this holy calling and give her every possible advantage for the performance of its many and difficult duties.

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[56] Beecher, C. E.: *The Evils Suffered by American Women and American Children,* 12.

"But, while this is our leading view, it includes several distinct departments, several of which are more readily comprehended than the more general object, and so we take one at a time, selecting such as the popular mind can most readily be led to appreciate. Our first measure presented to the public is the promotion of popular education as the only mode of saving our nation from ruin. This interests all patriots, and philanthropists of every class. To those who regard all enterprises in the religious aspect, it is offered as a missionary effort to save not only from temporal evils but from perils of the future life. To those who are laboring to secure woman's rights and remedy her wrongs, it is offered as the shortest, surest and safest method."[57] Dr. Lyman Beecher seconded his daughter's appeal, as did Calvin E. Stowe in the rôle of Chairman of the Central Committee at Cincinnati for promoting National Education.[58] No tempting bait of riches or renown was dangled before Mr. Slade's eyes;—Professor Stowe told him frankly: "As to remuneration, you would be assured of a decent, frugal living, and nothing more."[59] Mr. Stowe's letter was written June 5, 1846, and on August 1st, Governor Slade accepted,[60] deeply impressed with the conviction that he should disappoint the expectations of the friends of the enterprise, but resolved to put his hand to the plough and not look back.[61] He did disappoint the expectations of Catharine Beecher, but that the noble cause was furthered through his agency is undeniable. At the time of his acceptance, however, she felt that her great object had been attained: an organization was effected and an agent of high character and position was secured. Ex-Governor Slade entered upon the duties of his agency on the 29th of October, 1846,[62] and Catharine, exhausted by her labors, joined her sisters Mary and Harriet at the Brattleborough water cure.[63]

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[57] Letter of Catharine Beecher to Gov. Slade from *Educational Reminiscences*, 106–108.

[58] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences*, 106; *True Remedy for the Wrongs of Women*, 101.

[59] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences*, 109–111; *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, January 6, 1847.

[60] *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, January 6, 1847.

During the year of 1847, Miss Beecher and Mr. Slade conducted the enterprise together, and an exceedingly busy year it proved to be. Miss Beecher's high hopes were a bit dashed when she found that the new General Agent was willing to undertake only a portion of her complete plan. She urged in addition to transferring teachers, already qualified, from the east to the west, the starting of female institutions at the west, for the education of teachers.[64] Mr. Slade would agree only to the service of transference. Disappointed, Catharine acquiesced, tucking into a remote corner of her heart the more cherished plan until more favorable circumstances permitted its development. Meantime, Mr. Slade proceeded west to make arrangements for providing schools for teachers and Catharine took the responsibility of procuring the teachers and fitting them for service.

Thirty-five teachers were gathered in Albany, housed by benevolent ladies of the city and trained for one month in fields suggested by the following topics: "The best method to pursue in classifying a school made up of all ages from five to twenty, and of all stages of advancement. How to meet the difficulty, when half the parents furnish no books, and of those provided no two books are alike. Simple and economical methods of securing ventilation, warmth in winter, and coolness in summer, and various articles of school furniture and apparatus, when parents think these matters of little consequence. Methods of training children to neatness, order, and punctuality, whose parents regard these things of no consequence. Methods of training children to be truthful and honest, when all domestic and social influences tend to weaken such habits. How to use the Bible for imparting instruction in both moral and spiritual duties, without giving occasion for sectarian jealousy and alarm. How to preserve a teacher's health from the risks of climate and the dangers of overexertion and excessive care. How to secure improvements in diet and domestic comforts in a neighborhood without giving offence. How to teach the laws of health by the aid of simple drawings on the blackboard, so that the children can copy them on slates to take home and explain to their parents. How to meet the amiable but troublesome amor patriae, which is jealous in regard to foreign improvements. How to teach certain branches of Domestic Economy, so that parents will be pleased, and willing to adopt improvements.''[65] In addition to these lectures by Miss Beecher, the training period included visiting the Normal School, a course of lectures by Mr. Page, the Principal of the Normal School, on the details of teaching the primary branches; a course of lectures on history; a course of instruction in calisthenics, and instruction on the best mode of teaching composition.[66]

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[61] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences*, 112.

[62] *First Annual Report of Board of National Popular Education.*

[63] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy for the Wrongs of Women*, 102.

[64] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy for the Wrongs of Women*, 103.

Meantime Gov. Slade had considered the existing ''Central Committee'' at Cincinnati inadequate to inspire the necessary public confidence and had formed at Cleveland on April 7, 1847, the Board of National Popular Education with a formal constitution.[67] He then proceeded to tour the west, addressing assemblies on the subject of his mission in Columbus, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Springfield, Terre Haute, Chicago, Burlington, (Iowa), Bloomington (Iowa), Milwaukee, Kalamazoo and Detroit. In three of these cities, namely, Detroit, Chicago and Milwaukee, he formed associations auxiliary to the Board. In Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa, he met the legislature and gained the ear of those interested in education.[68] On his return to the east, he issued from Middlebury, Vermont, on May 16, 1847, a "Circular to the Friends of Popular Education in the United States," which reviewed the enterprise in which he was engaged and rehearsed its success to date.[69]

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[65] Beecher, C. E.: *The Evils Suffered by American Women and American Children*, 34.

[66] *Circular to the Friends of Popular Education in the United States*, issued by Mr. Slade May 15, 1847. [I. A. Lapham Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.].

[67] *Ibid.*

Miss Beecher's first crop of teachers and their unusual disposal furnished much amusement for the newspapers. The *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* of June 16, 1847, under the title "The Schoolmistress Coming," noted the arrival in Buffalo of thirty-four young ladies and escort, then added facetiously: "There is only one thing that occurs to us just now that will be likely seriously to interfere with Miss Beecher's plan of supplying good teachers to the whole Mississippi Valley. That, however, may be fatal to the whole scheme; we allude to the rapidity with which the rosy, tidy, industrious and well-educated Yankee girls that come out West, get married here." And the *Boston Journal* copied this for the entertainment of its readers.[70] The humorous editor of the Cincinnati paper, upon the arrival of some of the young ladies in his city, continued in his previous strain: "Were they other than what they are, we should take great pleasure in congratulating parents in the central region of Indiana on the good fortune which would in that event await their children; but as it is, we must reserve our congratulations for the young Bachelors of Indianapolis and vicinity for whose aid and comfort Miss Beecher is taking an infinite deal of pains."[71] The editor of the *Hartford Daily Courant* also had his little jest: "Wives for the West." He wrote: "to supply the bachelors of the west with wives, to furnish the pining maidens of the east with husbands, to better equalize the present disproportion of these two sections of our country, has been one of the difficulties of the age. The remedy was simple, it was only for the girls to go west and get married, but to go expressly to get married offended their ideas of delicacy. Miss Beecher, herself a Yankee girl, has ingeniously got over the whole difficulty. She is engaging the girls to go West as school marms."[72]

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[68] *Ibid.*

[69] *Ibid.*

[70] *Boston Journal*, June 23, 1847.

[71] *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, June 18, 1847.

[72] *Hartford Daily Courant*, August 11, 1847.

Late in September of the same year the second class was collected at Hartford, trained again under the supervision of Miss Beecher, and dispatched to western destinations.[73]

Catharine Beecher, at the close of the year, felt much dissatisfied with the mode in which the Board of National Popular Education and Mr. Slade were proceeding with the enterprise. We have noted that their plan included only part of hers, but she felt that even this part was not completely fulfilled. The voluntary committees organized at the west were not functioning satisfactorily and teachers frequently found promised accommodations entirely lacking when they arrived at their appointed places. Moreover, Catharine was naturally irritated by Slade's formation of the Board of National Popular Education at Cleveland without consulting with her. Nor was she consulted in any of its subsequent measures. She felt serious apprehensions in regard to the whole operation and requested Gov. Slade to announce in his first annual report that she intended to retire. This he did.[74] So Catharine settled down in peace and quiet to complete a long-delayed book, when urgent letters began to arrive from the teachers in the west. At least ten required immediate relief. The constitution of the Board of National Popular Education did not allow the employment of funds for this purpose, so Miss Beecher must needs put down her book, solicit funds from eastern ladies and hurry out to Iowa to administer them, though it was midwinter. She tells in her own inimitable fashion of her preparations: "I had heard terrific accounts of the winter journey across the mountains—of frightful precipices, which there was no way of escaping but to put the stage horses on a full run over a glare of ice, down a curving and fearful descent! There was no other way than this now open. So I made my will, had my daguerreotype taken for father, and made all other proper arrangements, for a roll down the Alleghenies."[75] Out to Burlington, Iowa, went Miss Beecher, hired a house and went to housekeeping, inviting the teachers who needed her aid to come there until other situations were found for them. While there she attempted to put into practice the other and, to her mind, more important part of her educational plan. A local paper takes up the story:

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[73] *Hartford Daily Courant*, September 29, 1847; *Hartford Female Seminary Reunion* (1892), 22; Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy for the Wrongs of Women*, 111–113.

[74] *First annual Report of General Agent of B. of N. P. Ed.*, January, 1848.

[75] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy for the Wrongs of Women*, 116.

"Female Education.

"Miss Beecher, whose name has long since become a household divinity is now in Burlington, at the Barret House. She submitted to a meeting of gentlemen on Monday evening interested in female education, a plan of a school for this purpose, which seems to meet with general approbation, and of the feasibility of which there appears no doubt."[76] Miss Beecher was to select the teachers for this school and to take the responsibility of organizing it. The splendid hopes, however, never materialized. According to Miss Beecher's account (and we have no other of the episode), Governor Slade twice interfered with her selection of teachers, whereupon dissatisfaction appeared among the other teachers, great disappointment was felt by the citizens and Miss Beecher left Burlington in broken health and much out of favor with the inhabitants. To top this unpleasantness, Governor Slade wrote Miss Beecher that he disapproved the course she had pursued, and wished that she cease all connection with the enterprise while it should be conducted by him.[77]

How cruel life can be! What more crushing blow is conceivable than now dealt her? To be curtly dismissed from the enterprise she, herself, had projected and nursed into growth and by the hand she had striven so earnestly to place at the helm! Keenly wounded, she was, indeed, for she knew her failure at Burlington to be the result of an unavoidable set of circumstances. Moreover, these years of her efforts taught her well the meaning of loneliness,—in spite of the fact that she aimed to carry out her plans for woman's betterment in a fashion approved by the conservative and fastidious, she had, nevertheless stepped out from the mass to lead the way,—and the pioneer walks always alone. Not even her family supported her. They failed to see the unity in her widely distributed efforts,—to them they were merely repeated attempts and repeated failures. Even Harriet considered her strange, nervous, visionary and to a certain extent unstable.[78] The load of disappointment and hurt pride was enough to stay the effort of an ordinary person. But Catharine Beecher was not an ordinary person,—sick and frail, smarting under unjust criticism and lack of appreciation, the stuff of her courage was too stern to be rent by failure; the quality of her devotion to her purpose so fine that she preferred to shoulder the blame of failure rather than chance some injury to the "great cause" through making public her disagreements with Governor Slade. Such courage deserves a crown of success and we shall shortly see it attained. The Slade organization proceeded without Miss Beecher for some years, ceasing its activities in 1858.[79] Ten Annual Reports were issued and in the tenth it was stated that 452 teachers had been sent out up till that time.[80] The Hartford papers announced the training of its teachers there from year to year, although in 1853 but seven teachers were listed.[81] Interest in the east began to lag before 1850, as evidenced by this paragraph from a Boston paper quoted in Hartford:

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[76] *The Iowa State Gazette,* March 29, 1848.

[77] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy for the Wrongs of Women,* 118–129.

"The West! the West! The wants of the West! The Schools of the West! The Colleges of the West!—Give, Give! Take care of the West! These cries have been so loud and incessant among us for some years past, that many good people—aye, and benevolent people too—have become weary of giving, and are all but vexed to hear a word said about that bottomless abyss, the West, into which our New England people and money have been so lavishly poured; as it would seem, to little purpose, as the cry is still—give, give![82] And it was yet to be—for Catharine Beecher was still to appeal for money and to get it, too.

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[78] Letter of Harriet Beecher Stowe to her father and Henry, September 19, 1851, [Lent by Miss Annie B. Scoville].

[79] Barnard: *American Journal of Education,* (1865), XV, 273.

[80] *Annual Reports of General Agent of the Board of N. P. Ed.,* 1848–1857.

[81] *Hartford Daily Courant,* October, 1853.

[82] *Hartford Daily Courant,* February 26, 1848, quoted from *Boston Traveller.*

CHAPTER VII

PURSUIT OF THE IDEAL

Catharine Beecher's severance of official relations with the Board of National Popular Education did not imply her abandonment of her educational project for the west. On the contrary, it meant the elevation of her efforts to a higher plane of activity, from which she could more nearly approach her heart's dearest desire of better schools for her own sex. Leaving to Slade and his organization the problem of transferring New England teachers to western schools, she devoted herself now to the temporarily delayed, but always cherished part of her plan,—that of training teachers of the west for their own schools. At the time of her first visit to Iowa, she had been prompted not only by the urgent appeal of the desperate teachers, but also by the hope that she might create successfully at least one example of her larger plan and thus win over the Board to her ideas.[1] But her attempt at Burlington ended in failure[2] and she succeeded in convincing Mr. Slade and the Board of nothing but the impracticability of her plan.

In spite of disparaging opinions of her ideas and her ability to execute them, in spite of failure which seemed to corroborate these opinions, Miss Beecher pushed on. Her sister later said of her that she seemed "as a sublime specimen of that force of character which God gives to an individual now and then when he has a purpose to carry by them and which may almost be regarded as an inspiration."[3] Freed now, of the necessity of cooperating in a system she considered unsatisfactory she proceeded to carry out the original plan at which she was aiming when she sought to establish the agency occupied by Mr. Slade.[4] The plan as she stated it in 1861 was this:

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[1] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy*, 116.

[2] See Chapter VI.

[3] Letter of Harriet Beecher Stowe to Lyman Beecher and Henry Ward Beecher, September 19, 1851, [Lent by Miss Annie B. Scoville].

[4] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy*, 140.

"... the establishment of Female High Schools with Normal Departments in large towns and cities, in connection with a system for raising up around them subordinate schools to be supplied with teachers both from these Normal Departments and also from the classes of teachers sent from the east. The plan involves subordinate particulars of which these are the principal:

1. These High Schools are to be organized on the college system, having a faculty of teachers instead of a principal with subordinates.
2. A Normal Department is to be connected with them, so organized that the two departments shall include every advantage which is now obtained in the Normal Schools of New York and Massachusetts.
3. These institutions shall be so endowed, that they will provide the same sort of stimulus of honorable and remunerating employ to ladies of high education and position as are offered to the other sex in the professorships of colleges, while the amount of labor required of ladies in these positions shall also correspond with that demanded of college professors.
4. In these institutions it shall be the leading aim to carry forward such a system of female education as will secure to woman a healthful and perfect physical development; such as will prepare her for all her future domestic duties; and such as will especially qualify her for the highest duty of an educator, in the moral and religious training of childhood.
5. With these institutions is to be connected an organization of ladies in the place where they are located, whose business it shall be, in connection with the principal of the Normal Department, to select promising young women to be educated gratuitously, or at reduced charges and also to procure situations for them, and take care of them in all cases where they are placed in circumstances of trial and difficulty.
6. These committees shall be in correspondence with committees organized at the East, for the purpose of selecting teachers from those already educated, and by this means making up deficiencies when there is not an adequate supply of teachers educated in the section where they are wanted.

7. In carrying forward this whole plan, the agencies employed shall be women, except in cases where the work required can not so advantageously be done by them. And a suitable compensation shall be given to all female agents thus employed.

8. In administering the funds that are raised to carry forward this plan, the rule shall be, in the first place, to give the most freely to those who need the most, instead of the more common practice of helping most liberally those who least need help; in the next place, to afford aid by such methods as shall stimulate those benefited both to help themselves and to aid others.

Lastly, the aim is to unite in this enterprise all religious denominations who agree in the great Protestant principle of taking the Bible as the rule of faith and practice, each individual being his own responsible interpreter.''[5]

It is obvious that the scope of this plan was far greater than the mere teacher's agency which the Board of National Popular Education represented. Not only were teachers to be transferred, but others were to be educated and subsequently cared for. Those features of the plan referring to the organization of the schools were partly the products of Miss Beecher's own painful experiences as a teacher and partly the expression of her ideal for a complete and appropriate education of girls. We see, also, her definite effort to improve and increase the possibilities of useful and remunerative employment for women in her stipulation that teachers, agents, and committee members should be of her own sex.

This plan she proceeded to execute. In the course of her visit to Iowa in 1848, she stopped at Jacksonville, Illinois, where her brother Edward had been for fourteen years President of Illinois College and where she had visited during the time of his incumbency.[6] Here she consulted with President Sturtevant of the College and received his approval of her plan. He agreed to organize a committee of men from the city, from five or six denominations, which committee was then supposed to cooperate with the Board of National Popular Education as an auxiliary body,[7] carrying out the measures for which the constitution of the board did not provide. Miss Beecher also inquired of President Sturtevant at this time concerning an agent who would visit the larger cities of the western states and arouse active interest in female schools of the type she had in view and who would derive his support from the sale of her *Domestic Economy* and *Domestic Receipt Book.* President Sturtevant recommended the Hon. Thomas M. Kilpatrick on the ground that his position as president of the State Education Society indicated his great interest in education, that he was a popular speaker, and that he was well-known in his state, having been in the State Senate and once a candidate for governor.[8] Miss Beecher counted as advantageous also, that he was a western man and thus familiar with all the peculiarities of the society in which he had been reared.[9] Through the negotiations of President Sturtevant, Mr. Kilpatrick was engaged to act in the way proposed.[10] Of his activities and success we shall speak shortly.

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[5] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy*, 52–57.

[6] Sturtevant: *An Autobiography*, 253, 254.

In 1848, or 1849, while still believing that her committee at Jacksonville could serve as adjunct to the Board at Cleveland, and prior to her break with Slade, Miss Beecher wrote and caused to be distributed her "Letter to Benevolent Ladies in the United States" in which she referred to her "Address" of 1845 and the subsequent organization, work, and success of the Board of National Popular Education and of Gov. Slade. No hint of dissatisfaction with any phase of the Board's activity is seen in this letter and the project for the establishment of female schools is presented as "Additional measures of the same general plan." To her readers she offers two alternatives:

"it is arranged, therefore, that all who choose to furnish funds simply to prepare and transfer teachers to the west, can contribute directly to the funds of the Board, while those who prefer to provide for a more enlarged mode of operation, can place their contributions under the control of this auxiliary committee at Jacksonville."[11] One is led to smile at the choice offered and at the delicate touch which so successfully damns with faint praise the Slade procedure. Early in 1849, Miss Beecher, hearing that Mr. Slade had expressed his intention of resigning his agency, went out to Jacksonville to put the finishing touches to the organization of the committee and to transfer the agency of Mr. Kilpatrick from her control to theirs.[12] She then visited Cleveland to meet the Board of National Popular Education, make a financial report for the year just closed, explain in detail her plan, offer the services of her Jacksonville committee and their agent to the Board, and suggest changes in procedure when Mr. Slade should have resigned.[13] At this meeting of the Board with Catharine, she aired a few of her grievances, especially relating to the facts of the Burlington episode and Slade's subsequent stand.[14] Incidentally she tactfully showed the Board its delinquency in the matter of certain sums of money owed her for her services during the two preceding years. She presented her facts as follows: "the painful responsibility of soliciting and administering funds devoted to benevolence could in no way be so effectually lessened as by the consciousness that I had contributed, at least as much to the enterprise, as I have charged for time and services. During the last two years I have devoted my whole time to this object, carrying on an immense correspondence and traveling more than five thousand miles, and in all seasons of the year. For this I have charged my traveling expenses, amounting the first year to $76 and the second to $225, and also at the rate of $300 per annum for services, postage, stationary, etc., amounting in all to $901. Of this as yet, I have received but $197.95, leaving a balance due me of $703.05. I am informed by the General Agent that he has been unable to make collections sufficient as yet to allow him to pay over any portion of this sum."[15] No evidence has been revealed to indicate whether Miss Beecher ever received her $703.05. She did, however, leave the meeting with the impression that the Board approved her claims and wished that she and Mr. Slade could be brought to act harmoniously, only to hear from them a few weeks later, after they had talked with Slade, that it had been decided best for her and Governor Slade to act independently.[16] This she did, with what result we shall see.

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[7] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy,* 134.

[8] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy,* 134–135.

[9] Beecher, C. E.: Letter to Benevolent Ladies in the United States, [Bound in *Slavery and the Constitution,* University of Penna. Library].

[10] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy,* 135.

[11] Beecher, C. E.: Letter to Benevolent Ladies in the United States, 15.

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[12] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy*, 136, 137.

[13] Letter of Catharine Beecher to Board of Nat. Pop. Ed. shortly after January 1, 1849.

[14] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy*, 137.

[15] Beecher, C. E.: Report to Board of Nat. Pop. Ed. [Bound in *Slavery and the Constitution;* University of Penna. Library.]

In the spring of 1847, Governor Slade visited Milwaukee, Wisconsin, to address an assembly on the subject of his mission, creating sufficient interest to form there an association auxiliary to his Board.[17] This committee informed the public through the local newspapers that they would notify the agent at Albany of teachers needed in the territory and invited persons wishing to employ teachers to apply without delay.[18] Among the members of the committee was Increase A. Lapham, a prominent Milwaukee citizen, who in May of 1847 had presented to the city thirteen acres of land for the purpose of a High School.[19] Early in 1848, Mr. Lapham was appointed as agent to obtain a loan of $16,000 to build school houses for the city, in which cause he proposed making a trip to Boston to affect the loan.[20] On February 4, 1848, Increase A. Lapham delivered a lecture to the citizens of Milwaukee which he closed with these words:

''As citizens of Milwaukee we have now this question to decide, shall we have literary and scientific institutions here or shall we be forever dependent upon others, for the education of our sons and daughters? If we have them not, how few will or can be educated. This would compel many to do without an education who are unable to pay for their support away from home. If we find it difficult to educate our children at home, how much more difficult it will be to send them to the eastern states. The inevitable result will be that we shall have the mortification of seeing our sons and daughters rank second rate in the society of our own city! Those who come in from the east, where better institutions exist will have a superior education, and they will assuredly take the lead and outshine us entirely!

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[16] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy*, 137–138.

[17] *Circular* issued by Slade, May 15, 1847, [I. A. Lapham Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.].

[18] *Milwaukee Sentinel*, August 20, 1847.

[19] *Milwaukee Sentinel*, May 27, 1847.

[20] Letter to Brother, February 20, 1848, [*MS.* I. A. Lapham Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.].

"Let us, then, fellow citizens, encourage every institution that will tend to place us at least upon an equality with our neighbors. Let us by all means not fall behind them! Milwaukee should be too proud for that!"[21] It was probably this lecture which accounted for the meeting of the citizens in the latter part of March, in the course of which it was "deemed expedient to establish a college in the city,"[22] to which end Mr. Lapham appropriated his "High School ground."[23] In the interests of the proposed college, and of the $16,000 loan, Mr. Lapham made a journey to the east to attempt to pursuade easterners to advance funds, but the attempt was unsuccessful, owing to the fact that the people approached were either too poor or preferred to invest their money elsewhere.[24] It seems evident from these facts, that the ground was perfectly prepared for the seed sown through Miss Beecher's agency in the summer of 1849.

On August 10, 1849, the Milwaukee newspapers informed the inhabitants that "Mr. Kilpatrick, a gentleman officially connected with the Board of National Popular Education, will give a lecture this evening in the Presbyterian Church in compliance with the invitation of several gentlemen in our city. The subject is an important one and Mr. Kilpatrick's position is a sufficient guarantee that he is competent to do it justice."[25] It seems probable, however, that the invitation originated with Mrs. Wm. L. Parsons, principal of a recently established school in the city, who had become interested in Catharine Beecher's educational theories through her "Addresses" and "Appeals" of the last four years.[26] In either case, the Hon. T. M. Kilpatrick addressed the citizens as announced and submitted to them a proposition from Miss Beecher to endow in their city a school for the education of young ladies, with the necessary apparatus to the amount of $1000, provided the citizens would erect or rent the necessary building for such a school.[27] We note the new element that the plan now has in the gift of $1000. Catharine Beecher, in describing her plans to the Board of National Popular Education early in 1849, said of it:

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[21] I. A. Lapham Papers, [State Hist. Soc. Wis.].

[22] *Milwaukee Sentinel*, March 28, 1848.

[23] Letter of I. A. Lapham to his Brother, March 29, 1848, [State Hist. Soc. Wis.].

[24] I. A. Lapham's Diary, April 21, 1848–May 12, 1848, [State Hist. Soc. Wis.].

[25] *Daily Wisconsin*, August 10, 1849; *Milwaukee Sentinel*, same date.

[26] Wight: *Annals of Milwaukee College*, 1848–1891, 3; Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy*, 146.

"I regard the offering of a bonus in the form of apparatus, library, etc., as an indispensable item in this plan. The grand desideratum in our newer settlements is union. Nothing else is needed to secure competent support to teachers even in the smallest and poorest places. But the mere offer to furnish good teachers, will not effect the union. These offers have so often been made and followed by disappointment, and there are so many conflicting interests and plans in such committees, that nothing but the offer of some substantial benefit, that all can understand, will secure the desired result."[28]

In view of Milwaukee's evident interest in education in the preceding few years, one is not surprised to learn that the proposition of Miss Beecher was accepted by a unanimous vote of the meeting and a committee of five persons, among whom was I. A. Lapham, was appointed to confer with Miss Beecher upon the subject and to take the necessary steps to ensure the establishment of a Female School. A meeting of ladies was called in the near future to aid in carrying forward the movement.[29] By September, definite progress had been made,—the committee had rented for four years one half of a new three story brick house at the corner of Milwaukee and Martin Streets, and the Rev. Wm. L. Parsons had leased the other part, as a dwelling for the teachers and a boarding house for scholars at the same time. The school was to be under the charge of Mrs. Parsons and was to have on its faculty a teacher furnished by Miss Beecher. The local editor probably expressed the pleasure of the citizens when he wrote: "Thus we can have established in our midst, a school for the education of the daughters of our citizens . . . which will offer advantages equal to the best schools of the East. A prominent object of the school, one of great importance, will be the education of female teachers for the West.''[30]

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[27] *Daily Wisconsin*, August 13, 1849; *Milwaukee Sentinel*, August 14, 1849.

[28] *Letter to Board of Nat. Pop. Ed.*, [in *Slavery and the Constitution*].

[29] *Daily Wisconsin*, August 13, 1849; *Milwaukee Sentinel*, August 14, 1849.

The teacher whom Miss Beecher was to furnish was no doubt Mary Mortimer, a native of England who had come to this country as a child and who had of recent years been teaching in New York State.[31] Miss Mortimer was acquainted with Mrs. Parsons who as Miss Lucy Seymour had been her associate at Le Roy, N. Y.[32] In the fall of 1848 Miss Mortimer went to the west, visited Mrs. Parsons and relatives for a time and eventually moved to Ottawa, Illinois, where, in the spring of 1849, she opened a school. Here Catharine Beecher met her[33] and took a great fancy to her, inviting her to ''fall in with her ideas'' and spend the coming summer in Hartford to visit schools and talk over plans.[34] Miss Mortimer apparently acquiesced for October finds both ladies at the Round Hill Water Cure, Northampton, Massachusetts,[35] and the following March finds them starting westward together. A letter of Mary Mortimer from Buffalo, tells their plans: ''We reached here at 1 P. M. No boat leaves tonight, so we shall be obliged to remain. The Queen City is announced for tomorrow at 10 A. M. We propose to take passage, spend the Sabbath in Detroit and proceed on Monday as fast as may be to Milwaukee, spend next week there, and, the week after, go to Ottawa, Jacksonville, Quincy, etc., returning,—I do not know when. After this I expect the school (Milwaukee) will be reorganized; then Miss Beecher expects to return (east) and I shall be school-ma'am again.''[36] It seems that the plan must have been followed to a nicety for the Milwaukee Sentinel of April 8, 1850 announced that ''Miss Beecher, whose efforts in the cause of female education have made her name celebrated, and whose generous donation towards establishing a school in this city, introduced her so favorably to its people, has arrived here, and is at the Seminary of Mrs. Parsons.'' During this visit Miss Beecher reorganized the school of Mrs. Parsons according to her own ideas, retaining three of the four teachers already at the school and adding Miss Mortimer as the fourth. The school was organized on the plan of the ''College system'' which meant that, instead of having a single person sustain the whole responsibility and employ subordinate teachers entirely subject to her control, the responsibilities were to be divided among the four teachers, each of whom was to be the head of a given department, while the vote of the majority, instead of the will of an individual, was to decide every question. Mrs. Parsons ceased to act as Principal and entered the Board of Teachers as the head of one Department.[37]

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[30] *Daily Wisconsin*, September 6, 1849.

[31] Wight: *Annals of Milwaukee College*, 1848–1891, 3.

[32] Norton: *Life of Mary Mortimer*, 74.

[33] Norton: *Life of Mary Mortimer*, 74, 115.

[34] Letter of Mary Mortimer, June 12, 1849, quoted in Norton: *Life of Mary Mortimer*, 115.

[35] Norton: *Life of Mary Mortimer*, 118; *MS.* Letter of Catharine Beecher to Mrs. Banister from Round Hill. [Mount Holyoke College Archives.]

[36] Letter of Mary Mortimer, May 28, 1850, quoted in Norton: *Life of Mary Mortimer*, 123.

Still pursuant to the plan, May 18 finds Mary Mortimer as a teacher in the Milwaukee Normal Institute and High School and May 26 finds Catharine Beecher back at Northampton, Massachusetts, resting up for a return to Milwaukee in September.[38] Poor Catharine! Considering the fact that travelling by railroad injured her head, and water-travelling offended her stomach,[39] she must have had a pretty bad time of it. Nevertheless, back in Milwaukee she was before the middle of September and the ten days or so she spent at this time saw Milwaukee Normal Institute acquire a slightly more substantial financial basis.

On September 11, 1850 the friends of the Seminary were invited to assemble at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Parsons to examine the library, apparatus, etc., and listen to an address from Miss Beecher.[40] One of those who attended the meeting and who was a stranger in the city afterwards described the address and its effects upon him:

''Miss Beecher proceeded in a very quiet, unpretending way, to lay before us the plan of education which her long experience has taught her to be the best. The great ends to be attained by the plan she proposed are, she remarked, economy in time and money, and permanency in the course of instruction.

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[37] *Daily Wisconsin*, September 18, 1850.

[38] Norton: *Life of Mary Mortimer*, 126; *MS.* Letter of Catharine Beecher from Northampton, May 26, 1850. [Mount Holyoke College Archives.]

[39] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy*, 243.

[40] *Daily Wisconsin*, September 12, 1850.

Both of these matters were considered in interesting and instructive detail, and I was delighted with the simplicity and evident efficiency of her designs. I have had a long experience in study, and have visited a great many schools of learning, but nowhere and never have I been so favorably impressed with any system of education, as with that presented by Miss Beecher this morning. . . . Such a school as Miss Beecher proposes is exactly in keeping with the character and want of this thriving city, and its citizens would be committing a sort of educational suicide by permitting this opportunity for establishing a school of the first order to pass unimproved. As for me, I would far rather give up one meal a day for ten years, than to have my child or children, if I were a parent and a resident of this city, forego the advantages of such a course of instruction as that which would be pursued under Miss Beecher's plan. A Person Interested.''[41]

But no matter what the above thought he would do, the citizens of Milwaukee apparently did not respond, for the trustees of the Milwaukee Normal Institute and High School made an appeal to the citizens of Milwaukee[42] in which they said, ''that the nature of the offer made to the citizens of this place, by the association which established this institution, through the agency of Miss C. E. Beecher, has not been fully understood. The terms of the offer were that the citizens should pledge proper accommodations for the school, and also a sufficient number of pupils to support the teachers. A subscription for house rent was secured for one year, but no permanent pledge of any kind has yet been obtained, and this is indispensable. For want of this, but a small portion of the library and apparatus has as yet been forwarded, while during the coming week it must be decided whether this library and apparatus, of one thousand dollars in value, shall be established in this institution, or be removed to a sister city, which has made very liberal offers, and fully provided the requisite pledge . . . it is proposed that an association be formed. . . . The citizens . . . are hereby invited to attend a public meeting. . . . An address, prepared for the occasion by Miss Beecher, will be read by one of the trustees, . . . The object of Miss Beecher's address will be to give a more full account of the benevolent enterprise of which the establishment of this institution is but a small part. . . ."

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[41] *Daily Wisconsin,* September 12, 1850.
[42] *Daily Wisconsin,* September 14, 1850.

Miss Beecher's address on September 16, 1850, read by Mr. Ashbel Finch, must have consumed some time in the reading as its reproduction in the newspaper of September 18 occupied three full columns of small type.[43] In it she reviewed the history of her project for the west, presenting the work of the Board of National Popular Education and that of herself and Jacksonville Committee as two allied phases. She explained the outstanding features of her female schools and recounted the story of the Milwaukee School to date. She had apparently long since discovered the effectiveness of a little judicious flattery, for she ends with these words: "In conclusion, will the citizens of this place permit one, who, though a stranger, is an honest and earnest friend, to remind them of their high position and great responsibilities? Milwaukee is the leading city of this section of our nation, and its example will control the destinies of this noble state. Wisconsin must ever take a leading position among the young empires of the west, and make its strong impress on the great national character. Why shall not this state be to the younger and more western communities, what New England has been to the west? Why should not she begin in the very dawn of her sovereignty to send forth her educated sons and daughters to become the princes and rulers of the intellectual world? The prize is before her, and nothing is needed but the intelligence to comprehend and the all-conquering energy to bear it aloft above all her compeers."[44] Whether due to the logic or the flattery, the address was productive. It was purposed to form a joint stock company, the members of which should hold one hundred shares of $5 each, thus forming a fund upon which assessments might be made in case the proceeds of the school should fail to pay the cost of tuition, although it was thought highly improbable that such an emergency would arise.[45] Subscriptions were immediately opened and more than half the shares were subscribed.[46] The same day that this meeting was held, a number of ladies met Miss Beecher to assist her in the enterprise. A committee was appointed to report a plan for adoption.[47]

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[43] *Daily Wisconsin*, September 18, 1850.

[44] *Ibid.*

[45] *Milwaukee Free Democrat*, September 17, 1850.

Miss Beecher now retired from the scene of action, feeling that all signs were favorable to the success of the new school and turned her attention to the organization of another school of which we shall speak later.

Meantime, "Milwaukee Normal Institute and High School" was incorporated in the spring of 1851,[48] and the school enjoyed a measure of success with more than a hundred pupils on its rolls.[49] The citizens were very proud of their "female seminary of a high order" which provided for the girls of the city educational advantages far superior to those the boys enjoyed.[50] One of the trustees, writing to Miss Beecher, said: "The Milwaukee Normal Institute now has the profound confidence of the community. We know it to be so, and the attendance and interest shown at our public examinations prove it. . . . It is 'The school of Milwaukee.' " . . .[51] The next step, obviously, was a new building. Whether this suggestion arose with Miss Beecher, we do not know, but the plan for the building was prepared by her and transmitted to the trustees.[52] One of the trustees wrote that the plan was "greatly admired," and that everybody wanted to have the building erected. A subscription had been started and all were going to do their best.[53] But their best was not good enough,—the necessary money could not be raised. When one realizes that in 1834, Solomon Juneau, a French trader, and his family were the only white persons on the site of Milwaukee and that by 1851, the population was estimated at 24,000[54] and that during that time schools and churches had been erected, over $200,000 had been expended for grading, and $20,000 had been voted for improving the harbor, one is not surprised that purses were a bit flat. Moreover, at this time, the city capitalists were straining every nerve to finish the Mississippi Railroad and several plank roads, and the failure of the wheat crop for two successive seasons had financially embarrassed the entire locality. No wonder, a trustee wrote: "The money is not here."[55]

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[46] *Ibid.*

[47] *Daily Wisconsin,* September 18, 1850.

[48] *Laws of Wisconsin,* 1851, Chapter 133.

[49] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy,* 146.

[50] *Daily Wisconsin,* November 18, 1851.

[51] Letter quoted by Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy,* 197.

[52] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy,* Frontispiece.

[53] Letter to Catharine Beecher, quoted in *True Remedy,* 197.

[54] *Daily Wisconsin,* November 6, 1851.

Catharine, however, seemed resolved to let the Milwaukee trustees solve their own problems. Writing in 1851, and in reviewing her more recent educational activities, she said: "There is nothing more adverse to my feelings than to solicit benevolent contributions, unless it be, taking the responsibility of administering them, and yet I have constantly been doing both. . . . I have given up favorite literary plans just as they were on the eve of completion, and on which I depend for a livelihood, nay, more, I have been forced to relinquish all letters of friendship, even those of family friends. Nearly one-half of my time has been spent at water retreats in laborious attempts to repair constantly recurring exhaustion resulting from such over-exertion. In short, as it respects my own personal comfort and plans, I have constantly been doing all I did not wish to do, and leaving undone everything I most wished to accomplish. But the time has now come, in which I can return to a more quiet and congenial mode of life, with the belief that the work I have been attempting, can be done far better and more successfully by others, while I can serve the same cause most effectively by my pen."[56] But of course, she did no such thing.

The Milwaukee school while not in immediate danger of ending its existence, was halted in its development by the need of money and Miss Beecher had not forgotten the promising Cincinnati school which had failed from a similar lack.[57] Moreover, her sympathies were aroused by the brave efforts the Milwaukee people were making. She wrote: "this, then, I regard as preeminently a case where those are deserving of aid who do the most to help themselves. It is my full conviction that there is not a community in this nation which, in proportion to its capital, has expended more liberally for all public and benevolent objects than Milwaukee.''[58] At this time, (1851) she published *The True Remedy for the Wrongs of Woman; with a History of an Enterprise having that for its Object,* in which she told in the form of letters to her sister, Mrs. Stowe, the detailed story of her educational ventures from the days of her Hartford Female Seminary to the present. In this book she stressed the need and worthiness of the Milwaukee institution and appealed for its aid. The book had one happy result: it enlisted the cooperation of Mrs. Stowe, who then attempted to plead Catharine's cause with some of the family. Writing to Dr. Beecher and Henry Ward, in September of 1851, she says: ''I beg, therefore, first that you will give Kate's book a careful reading, and rectify your own statements as I have mine and see just what she has been doing and then do what you can to help this Milwaukee enterprise which is just now the turning point of the whole affair.''[59]

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[55] Letter to Catharine Beecher, quoted in *True Remedy*, 194–197.
[56] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy*, 243, 244.
[57] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy*, 202.

In the spring of 1852, the prospects at Milwaukee Normal Institute assumed a rosier hue. Mr. Parsons, as the agent of the trustees, had succeeded with Miss Beecher's help[60] in collecting over $1500 in the east. With this sum the trustees purchased a building site and began the new building.[61] Every ounce of energy was directed toward completing this enterprise successfully. The committee of ladies, formed in the fall of 1850, now organized themselves as the ''Educational Society of Milwaukee'' and pleaded the cause of the school in the press.[62] They also wrote to ladies of wealth in the east to enlist their interest and aid. A letter from Mrs. Lapham to Mrs. Jacob Gould of Rochester, N. Y. invites the latter to ''adopt this school as a child of your own.''[63] Nor did the ladies stop with writing,—entertainments, called ''soirees'' were given to swell the building fund. Supplementing the ladies' efforts were those of other interested persons. Mr. Lapham tried mathematical persuasion on the Milwaukeeans through the press. He set down the pecuniary advantages of the institution like this: "3000 females in the city, 300 of which would probably attend the school, at $200 each = $60,000 which would go to some other city if the school were not kept in Milwaukee. With the school, 100 outsiders would bring their money into the city.[64] And, of course, Catharine, in spite of her intention of returning to a "more quiet and congenial mode of life," was busily putting ideas together to help the work along.

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[58] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy,* 199.

[59] Letter of Harriet Beecher Stowe to her Father and Henry, September 19, 1851 [lent by Miss Annie B. Scoville].

[60] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy,* 150.

[61] Wight: *Annals of Milwaukee College,* 1848–1891, 5.

[62] *Milwaukee Sentinel,* February 12, 1852.

[63] *MS.* letter March 1852, [I. A. Lapham Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.].

In April of 1852, Mary Mortimer and Catharine were together in Hartford, the latter, at least, full of "great plans and visions,"[65] which materialized, after a month in New York City, as the American Women's Educational Association. On May 8th and 15th, 1852, following much correspondence, Miss Beecher called meetings of ladies in New York City, to form an association of women to carry still farther her plans for female schools. As a consequence of these meetings the American Women's Educational Association was formed with a constitution which formally embodied Miss Beecher's characteristic ideas, expressed in terms which lead one to suspect that she was its author. The object as set forth in Article 2, was "to aid in securing to American Women a liberal education, honorable position, and remunerative employment in their appropriate profession; the distinctive profession of women being considered as embracing the training of the human mind, the care of the human body in infancy and in sickness, and the conservation of the family state."[66] This object was to be achieved through the establishment of endowed institutions for women, embracing the leading features of colleges and professional institutions for the other sex, especially that idea of a co-equal faculty of teachers which was so dear to Miss Beecher's heart.

The method of procedure to be followed in establishing each institution was laid down in chronological order and contained now the steps subsequent to the point the Milwaukee school had reached. They were, as outlined in Article 4:—". . . the citizens shall erect a building at an expense of not less than $10,000, and engage to give gratuitous tuition to twenty normal pupils. In return, the association shall provide an endowment of $20,000, the interest of which shall furnish the salaries of three superior teachers, each having charge of one of the three departments set forth, . . . as constituting the true profession of woman.''[67]

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[64] *Milwaukee Sentinel,* February 14, 1852.

[65] Letter of Mary Mortimer, April, 1852, quoted by Norton: *Life of Mary Mortimer,* 142.

[66] *First Annual Report, American Women's Educational Association.*

The fulfillment of the plan as elaborated in the constitution represented Miss Beecher's idea of the millennium for her sex, the attainment of that desired situation when woman would no longer be under necessity of marrying for a home, but would find a noble aim in life and employment of all her cultivated powers and affections in the profession of teacher. Thus would be happily solved not only her individual problems, but those of the world, for the new association, in its message to the public, repeated the popular statement:[68] ''whoever educates the great West, gains possession of the helm of the nation and controls the destinies of the world.''[69] Among the list of the names of the persons comprising the Board of Managers of this aspiring young organization (thirty in all) we find those of Zilpah Grant Banister, Lydia Sigourney, Sarah J. Hale, Harriet Beecher Stowe and, of course, Catharine Beecher. Mrs. and Mr. Parsons were to act as agents. The latter, with the strength of his new backing, immediately succeeded in raising funds which, added to those raised by the citizens, secured the erection of the new building for the Milwaukee Normal Institute.[70]

So, June of 1852 found in Milwaukee ''a large building going upwards from its foundation''[71] and on June 16th, with much ceremony, the corner-stone was laid. To be certain that the new school would have a complete foundation, under the stone were placed: ''A paper, on which was written the names of the President of the United States, and the Governor of Wisconsin, a copy of the Charter of the Institution with the names of the Trustees, the first and only catalogue of the course of study in the Institution; names of Board of Teachers; names of the Architect and Builders; a History of the Institution, its object etc.; the daily papers of the city in English and German; a copy of the City Charter; names of the City officers; copies of the State and City School Laws; the City Directory and Map of the City for 1852.''[72]

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[67] *Second annual report A. W. E. A.*

[68] *Western Monthly Magazine,* (1835), III, 320.

[69] *First Annual Report A. W. E. A.*

[70] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy,* 154.

[71] *Milwaukee Sentinel,* June 14, 1852.

At the end of August the local papers announced that the school would open in its new home early in October. Mr. Parsons, at this time, took occasion to emphasize in the public press, the outstanding features of the new institution, listing its ''Faculty of co-equal instruction, library and apparatus, a full and thorough course of study, ample accommodations, and an incorporation which will perpetuate the institution.''[73] The course of study referred to had been authorized, in June, by the Executive Committee of the American Women's Educational Association which had also appointed Miss C. E. Beecher, Mrs. H. B. Stowe and Miss Mary Mortimer a committee to draw up such a course.[74] To accomplish this, Miss Mortimer and Miss Beecher spent the summer of 1852 at Brunswick, Maine, with the Stowes, who had moved here in 1850 upon Professor Stowe's appointment to the local college.[75] Mary Mortimer's letters from Brunswick during that summer record the progress of the course of study, which she hoped would diminish her care and labor. Her letters also show what appear to be the results of indoctrination by Catharine's dominant ideas, for Miss Mortimer wrote: ''When we women shall get half such good times as professors in colleges have, we shall not need to make such havoc with our health as we now do.''[76]

Now in October of 1852, just four years after the first opening of the little school of Mrs. Parsons, the Milwaukee Normal Institute began a new phase of its long and useful life,—a life whose flowing waters have risen and fallen with good seasons and dry, but which continue still to serve, as Miss Beecher herself expressed it in 1874, as a ''fountain of good, sending out educated mothers and teachers.''[77] In the spring of 1853, the name was

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[72] *Daily Wisconsin,* June 17, 1852.

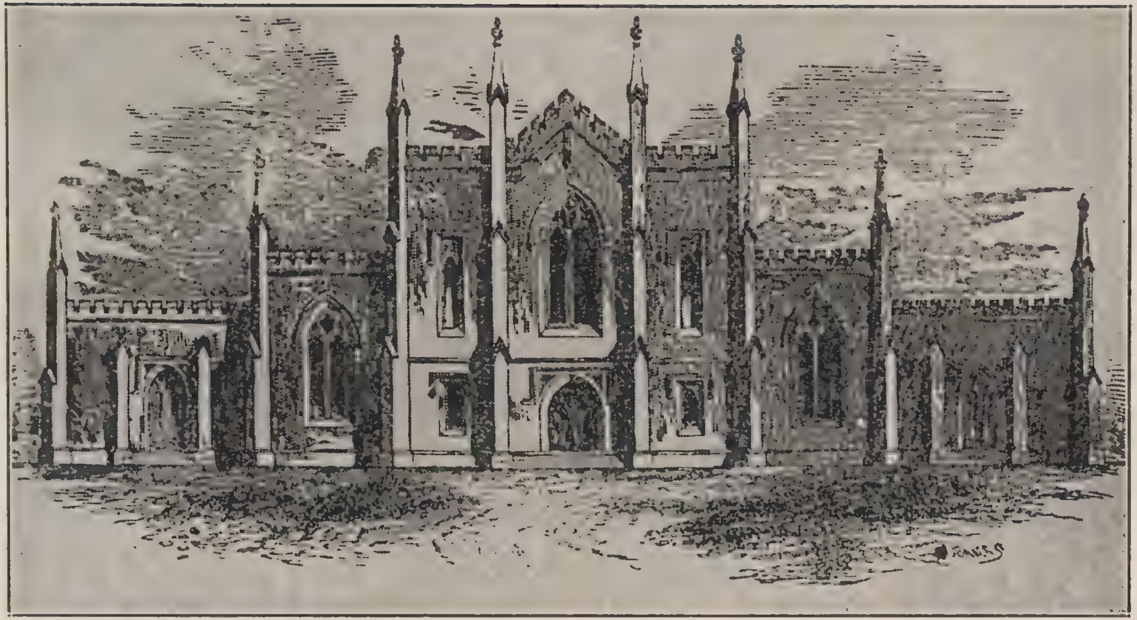
[73] *Daily Wisconsin,* August 31, and September 1, 1852.

[74] *First annual report of the A. W. E. A.*

[75] *Cincinnati Daily Gazette,* October 28, 1850.

[76] Letters of Mary Mortimer quoted by Norton in *Life of Mary Mortimer,* 144–149.

[77] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences,* 197.



INSTITUTION AT MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

changed to "Milwaukee Female College"[78] and about this time was issued the "First Annual Report of the Officers and Pupils of the Milwaukee Female College, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1852–1853," very handsomely gotten up in bright blue with gilt lettering. This report listed the five "departments" and the teachers as follows:

Miss Mary Mortimer,
  Department of Superintending Instructions, and Teacher of Normal School.
Mrs. L. A. Parsons,
  Department of Classification and Arrangement, and Teacher of Geography, History, Mental and Moral Science.
Miss A. Loomis, Mrs. Wilson,
  Department of Government, and Teachers of Mathematics and Natural Science.
Miss J. Millard,
  Department of Finance and Correspondence, and Teacher of Languages, Composition, Literature, etc.
Miss E. B. Warner,
  Department of Primary Instruction, and Teacher of Drawing.

At the closing exercises this year, Mr. Increase A. Lapham presented the diplomas to the two members of the graduating class and delivered the Commencement Address. His words express well the noble purpose of the College: "I have," he says, "now the pleasure to present each of you with a diploma, in which it is certified that having completed in a satisfactory manner the course of study prescribed for graduation by this Institution, the Board of Trustees, upon the recommendation of the Faculty of Instruction, do award this Diploma in testimony of your honorable attainments in the Arts; your studious habits; your commendable deportment; and your moral character while students of this Institution. . . . It will be observed that this is fully equivalent to the Baccalaureate, or first degree in the arts as conferred by other Literary Institutions.

"We thus extend to you no small, no common honor, intended as a mere passing compliment, but one which is seldom attained by females and for which many a noble hearted youth has struggled through every difficulty. . . . It has been the object of a portion of the instruction you have received, to qualify you for the peculiar and appropriate duties of woman. These sacred duties are never to be lost sight of, all other pursuits must be made subservient to them. Let it not be said as reproach upon women of high attainments in literature and science, that they are thereby disqualified for their proper duties in life. Let it rather be seen that these acquirements only render you more capable of properly discharging these duties. . . .''[79]

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[78] *Private and Local Laws* of Wisconsin (1853), Chapter 257.

According to the catalogue of 1853–1854 the plan of the institution was ''extensive, including arrangements for carrying pupils from the first rudiments of an education, to the completion of a thorough school course, and also, for training prospective teachers. In accordance with this, it [was] made to comprise three schools,—the Primary, the Collegiate and the Normal school in one.''[80] The Primary school was to be under the charge of one of the principal teachers who, in connection with the Normal teacher, would seek to make this, in every respect, a Model school. The Collegiate school, including the Preparatory class, would be under the charge of three principal teachers, each of whom would be at the head of a department of instruction and responsibility. A course of study, strictly systematic and progressive was to be satisfactorily completed to entitle the student to an honorable Diploma. The Normal school, in charge of one teacher, had as its special object to give suitable instruction to young ladies who wished to prepare themselves for teachers, and to oversee the instruction of the whole institution. The training in the Normal school was divided into two classes: that for prospective teachers of common schools and that for teachers of High Schools. Proper certificates rewarded the completion of the courses of study. This year there were 166 pupils in the catalogue, exclusive of the pupils in the Normal school, the classes in which had not yet been organized at the time the catalogue was issued. Tuition in the Normal class was free to pupils both inside and outside the college as this department was supported by donations from friends of education. Evidence of the agreement with the American Women's Educational Association is also seen in the offer of free tuition in the Collegiate school and room to a limited number of applicants who might desire to fit themselves for teachers.[81] Tuition varied with the school and class, ranging from $12 per year in the Primary school to $24 per year in the Senior class of the Collegiate school, instruction in modern languages and music and use of the library extra. The long school year, about forty-three weeks, was divided into three terms, separated by vacations approximately two weeks long.

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[79] I. A. Lapham Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.

[80] *Catalogue* of 1853–1854, 11.

Frances E. Willard was a pupil in the college for one term in the spring of 1857 and afterwards spoke glowingly of its clear and invigorating moral atmosphere. Her autobiography sketches for us, also, the great examination day, just previous to commencement, when all the members of a class were seated on a high platform in the great study hall. The teacher went to the opposite end and called out the topics by number. The pupils had to speak loud enough to be heard throughout the room or were not allowed to proceed.[82] What an ordeal this must have been for the gentle, retiring females!

For the next twelve years Catharine Beecher kept an ever watchful eye on this precious child of hers. When President Sturtevant had written her his opinion of her plans in 1849, he said: "Were I to give you my personal advice in this matter, it would be that at first you attempt but one institution—that you nurse it sedulously—that you do for it all that it needs."[83] This advice she had not entirely followed, having attempted a school at Quincy, Illinois, almost simultaneous with the one at Milwaukee but certainly she was always alert to the needs of the Milwaukee College as she saw them. In December, 1854, the College faced serious difficulty through lack of money to meet a mortgage. December ninth finds Miss Beecher on the scene "perfecting arrangements to place the institution upon a firm basis."[84] On December 20, the citizens were informed through

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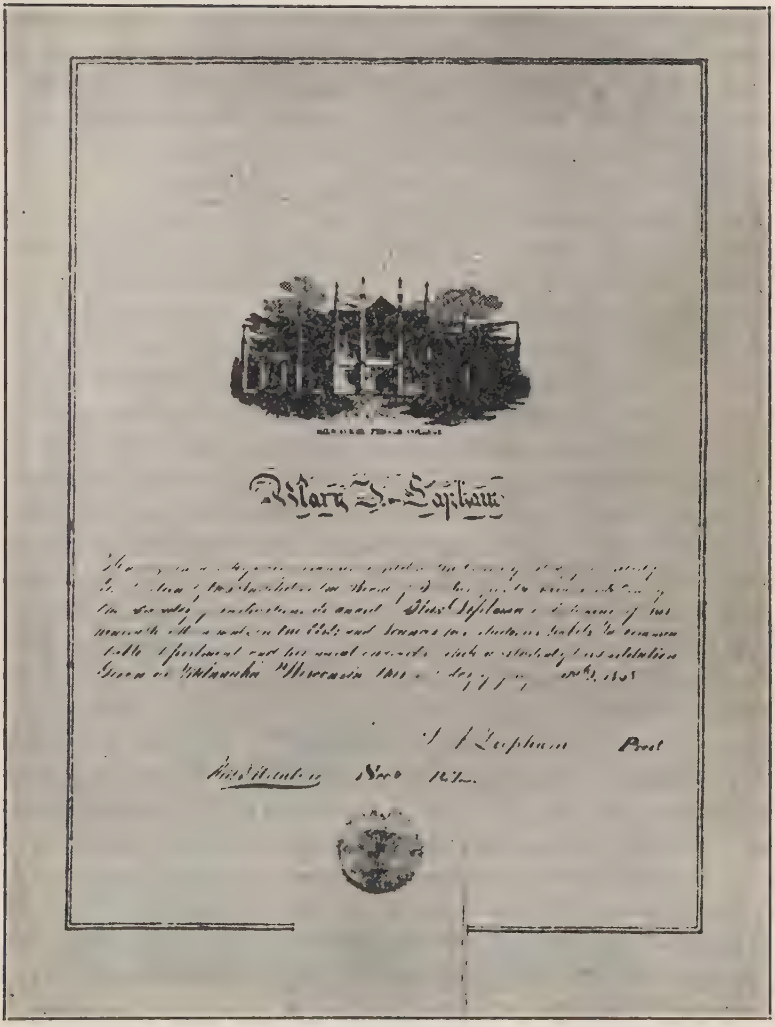
[81] *Catalogue* of 1852–1853.

[82] Willard: *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, 94–95.

[83] Letter April 23, 1849, quoted in Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences*, 142.

[84] *Daily Wisconsin*, December 9, and 20, 1854.



Mary D. Lapham

DIPLOMA OF 1858

Courtesy of Milwaukee-Downer College

the press that ''a public meeting of all interested in the success of [the] institution [would] be held in the course of a few days, when some plan of operation [would] be devised. In the meantime, Miss Beecher who [had] the interest of [the] college at heart, [would] be happy to receive calls from such of [the] citizens, who [felt] an interest in the cause of education, and who [desired] to give Milwaukee an Institution worthy of its proudest future.''[85]

Miss Beecher's ''plan of operation'' was to issue stock and in this new movement she asked Mr. John H. Tweedy, a wealthy trustee, to lead. Writing to Mr. Tweedy for this purpose, she applied a bit, of what appears to have been, successful flattery. ''I do not hear,'' she wrote, ''of any one who is exactly fitted by character and circumstances to be the leader in this movement but yourself. You are an old resident, have the confidence of the community and the position that wealth, talents and integrity confer. You know how, and you have the time and opportunity, while as a Trustee, you have an official right to do so.'' One can imagine how the tone of authority must have annoyed the worthy gentleman as she proceeded: ''It is important that I should receive as early as 12 o'clock tomorrow a written statement of what the Trustees are to propose in regard to the stock arrangement and form and mode of pressing the subscription. May I rely upon you to see that this is secured by this time and will you favor me with a call when it is completed?'' And her customary self-confidence appears in her closing sentence: ''If I can get the ladies whose husbands it is most important to interest to hear me once, I know I can secure the full weight of their influence.''[86] And Catharine was apparently correct in her judgment, for the ladies engineered a successful literary soirée, and the same evening something over $4,000 worth of stock at $25 per share was subscribed.[87] The Milwaukee press, always interested in affairs of the college[88] enthusiastically supported the project. Success crowned the combined efforts of those interested for 14,020 shares of stock were eventually sold[89] and the Milwaukee College was cleared of debt. The American Women's Educational Association found the college now ready for the $20,000 endowment since all necessary conditions had been met[90] and in their annual report of 1855 made a plea for the money. *Godey's Ladies Book,* whose "Editress" was one of the Board of Managers of the Association, seconded the plea with an account of the Association and its accomplishments.[91] The American Women's Educational Association had now finished its third year of activity, having to its credit two flourishing institutions. In addition to activities relating to these, at the first annual meeting in 1853, the members had approved a petition, brought to their attention by Mrs. Sarah J. Hale, to be presented in Congress, asking for the establishment of Free Normal Schools for Female Teachers in every state of the Union, the money to come from a grant of the public domain.[92] On April 19, 1855, the Association was incorporated and thereby became legally able to hold property for furthering its objects.[93] While its annual reports ceased after 1857, the Association remained actively in existence until Miss Beecher's death.

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[85] *Daily Wisconsin*, December 20, 1854.

[86] *MS.* Letter of Catharine Beecher to John H. Tweedy, December 26, 1854. [John H. Tweedy Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.]

[87] *Daily Wisconsin*, December 28 and 30, 1854; *Milwaukee Sentinel*, December 29, 1854.

In the fall of 1855, conditions seemed favorable for the further development of Milwaukee College. To date, but one third of Miss Beecher's complete concept of woman's three-fold profession,—teacher, healthkeeper, home-maker—was being especially served by the college. Miss Beecher's letter to Mr. Lapham at this time shows promise of the remaining two-thirds:

"Andover, Oct. 3, 1855

"Mr. I. A. Lapham,

"My dear Sir:

"I now have immediate command of $3,000 of my own, and in course of six months shall receive a considerable sum in addition. If the proper arrangements can be made I shall be willing to invest this sum in a building for the Domestic and Health Departments of the Milwaukee Female College to hold in my own right until the association have funds to purchase the building from me.

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[88] *Daily Wisconsin,* December 30, 1854.

[89] List of Stockholders of the Milwaukee Female College, [John H. Tweedy Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.].

[90] *Third Annual Report of the A. W. E. A.,* May 1855.

[91] *Godey's Ladies Book,* XLI, 276–7.

[92] See appendix for Memorial.

[93] *Third Annual Report, A. W. E. A.*

"It is my intention eventually to devote this property to the endowment of either the domestic or health departments of the Milwaukee Female College in case the income from my two last published works do not secure the sum necessary. . .

"The great public spirit which has been manifested by the citizens of Milwaukee leads me to hope that some method will be secured that will provide the whole square on which the college stands for the institution. . .

"Very respectfully,

"Catharine E. Beecher."[94]

The books referred to in Miss Beecher's letter were her *Letters to the People on Health and Happiness* and *Physiology and Calisthenics for Schools and Families,* both of which preached the gospel of healthful living to women for themselves and their families.

After some correspondence between Miss Beecher and Mr. Lapham[95] the former sent her express wishes concerning the proposed building in the following letter:

"Boston, Nov. 6, 1855.

"Mr. Lapham.

"I was gratified to learn through you and Mr. Parsons that the Trustees have decided to purchase the two lots of Mr. Gilman. I hope they will also take measures that the third lot that completes the Square shall not pass into any other hands, as I hope to see that whole square eventually owned by the Trustees or the Association.

"I am very anxious to have the building erected so that I can come out and organize the Domestic Department in the Spring if possible—say early in May—Is it possible?

"The three points which I wish to gain in erecting this first building are—First that it should be a model of good taste in architectural proportion and finish and yet be very economical. I want to see it proved that it is as cheap to build tasteful houses as homely ones.

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[94] Milwaukee-Downer College Archives.

[95] Letter of Catharine Beecher to I. A. Lapham, October 18, 1855 [Milwaukee-Downer College Archives].

"Second that it shall be so built and arranged that two teachers shall have the quiet and comfort of an independent home—shall not be forced to have a room mate except such as is congenial and shall not be crowded into a great family of boarding scholars.

"If a great house is put up it will be filled and I do not want a large one built. I refer you to our last Report to see my views on this part of the subject.

"Third I wish to have it so managed that I shall furnish money so long as it can be got no other way, but that when the experiment is fully tried I shall have all I invest repaid to me by the Association to use again in any way I see fit in promoting the cause I am serving.

"I enclose a rough sketch of the ground plan of such a building as I want. I wish this to be set on the middle lot and then to have it connected with the College building by a low building say twelve or fifteen feet high. This to be say 25 by 60 ft. to be the Calisthenics Hall—on a model which will soon appear in a book of mine on Calisthenics. . .

"I send this as a foundation for your opinion and counsel—I expect that the Trustees and Association will have a veto power in deciding what shall or shall not be done and I shall propose that Miss Mortimer be appointed to act in behalf of our Association.

"I have such confidence in the good judgment and good feeling of all the parties concerned that I prefer they shall decide after they have heard all I have to offer in support of my views."[96]

The matter dragged along for sometime. On February 18, Catharine wrote Mr. Lapham a characteristically eager, emphatic letter full of plans of builders and brick[97] only to receive a noncommittal, cautious, "take-your-time" one in reply, providing an effective dash of cold water in its closing sentence: "It is uncertain when we can make the purchase of Mr. Gilman if at all, and it is uncertain what the Trustees would be willing to do. It would not be proper to proceed in the matter unless there is a proper and definite understanding on all hands.''[98] Catharine's none too elastic patience snapped and reaction is shown in her reply two weeks later:

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[96] Milwaukee-Downer College Archives.

[97] Letter of Catharine Beecher to I. A. Lapham, February 18, 1856, [Milwaukee-Downer College Archives].

''Washington, D. C., March 13, 1856.

''Mr. Lapham.

''Yours of Feb. 27 is duly received. That, with other communications rec'd at the same time have led me to modify my plans and it is important that the result be communicated to the Trustees of your College.

''I would, in the first place, refer to the general plan of our Association and the features already accomplished. In the first place then, we have given an example of the union of many different denominations in carrying forward an educational enterprise. Our Agent has been received in some of the best pulpits of some six of our leading denoms. Our Board represents seven such denoms, and your institution now unites the patronage of all the Protestant sects in Milwaukee. The same is true at Dubuque. Next, we have organized two institutions on the college plan and proved to the satisfaction of all concerned that it can be done and that it is the only sure mode of securing permanency and the highest class of teachers. Next we have instituted a course of study and training more appropriate to the character and duties of woman, which have been tested and approved. . . All that now remains to be done is the organization of the Health and Domestic departments and the providing of the endowments to render them permanent.

''By the financial account that you transmitted to me, it can be shown that your Board would be able to carry out the remaining portion of the plan, without further aid from our Association.

''If you will buy one of the lots immediately back of the college and erect a boarding house for your teachers and pupils, and charge only a fair price for their board you can make it such a source of income that with a proper tuition fee from the school, you can buy still another lot and erect another building for the domestic department and for a Calisthenic hall. For the organization of the Domestic department and the Health Dept. also I would furnish all my views and the reasons for them, and also aid in selecting and preparing ladies to superintend if so requested.

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[98] Letter of I. A. Lapham to Catharine Beecher, February 27, 1856, [Milwaukee-Downer College Archives].

"Thus you are prepared to secure all the benefits proposed even if our Association are unable to meet their part of the contract and provide the $20,000 for an endowment. You are indeed by our efforts in harmony with yours practically already endowed.

"My object in seeking the organization of the Amer. Woman's Ed. Assn. was to relieve myself from raising and administering funds. As an individual I am under no other obligations to your institutions than every other member of the Board.

"The question now is, can the Association and its Agent raise the proposed endowment?

"When I met your Board it was my ambition to go forward and invest funds of my own to complete the plan without waiting to see how this question is to be answered.

"But several circumstances have combined to convince me that this is inexpedient. I have therefore decided to wait and see what the Association and its Agent can do without me. If they can endow these two institutions, it will show that there is a vitality in the organization that will enable them to go on still farther and establish other institutions of the kind. If they cannot do this, then I shall think it a far better method to act as an individual in any farther efforts I may make of this kind.

"If at the end of a year or two it should appear that the Trustees at Milwaukee and the Board of our Association can do all they have attempted without farther cooperation on my part, I shall be very thankful. In that case I shall employ my funds and efforts for an institution that I originated at the East when I could reside with a large circle of family friends around me, and carry out my views with much greater ease and pleasure than in any other place. But if on the other hand it should appear that an enterprize originated by me, might fail for want of any cooperation on my part that is in my power, I should cheerfully make any personal sacrifice that might be involved in preventing such a failure, provided always my services were desired and sought for appropriately

"I trust this decision will be agreeable to the Trustees and that I shall receive a reply to this soon.

"Very respectfully,
"Catharine E. Beecher."[99]

Miss Beecher's statement that she intended to see what the Association and its agent could do without her was carried out literally. The fourth annual report of the American Women's Educational Association contains her swan song: "Ladies:" she said, addressing the managers, "the long wished period has arrived, when I am permitted to relinquish whatever agency or responsibility I have held in connection with the enterprize committed to your care. . . What I have been aiming at in connection with your Board is achieved, in bringing our cause before the public, sustained as it now is by a fair experiment and by the sanction of so many distinguished names. . . In conclusion, I beg leave to express my confidence in your Board and Agent and Committees, as well as in the objects for which they act, by presenting the copyright interest of my two recent publications. . . When I express my intention of withdrawal. . . I do not wish to have it understood that I relinquish that interest and responsibility which is held by me in common with the other members of your Board. In addition to this, should a time arrive when such an amount is held by your Board as warrants the full organization of the Health and Domestic departments in any one of our institutions, it would give me pleasure to render any personal services which your Agent and Committee might seek, provided the specific plan is adopted, drawn out in your First Annual Report." If we should expect to find Catharine Beecher's name absent from subsequent activities of the American Woman's Educational Association or of Milwaukee College, we should be much disappointed for her "farewell," like that of many an artist, was merely a "beau geste." Catharine Beecher could never hold herself aloof from any project in which she was so vitally interested. So it is quite without surprise that we find her, at the end of 1859, seeking endowment for Milwaukee College from wealthy women of that city. The American Woman's Educational Association had turned over to Milwaukee College in 1857, $5000 of the promised endowment[100] but the remainder seemed not to be forthcoming. Miss Beecher now attempted to influence women of wealth and benevolence to perpetuate their names through the founding of professorships[101] but without success.

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[99] Milwaukee-Downer College Archives.

From 1861 until the end of her connection with the College, Catharine seems to exhibit a growing irritation with the management of affairs. Whether it was that her established importance as an educator had "gone to her head" or simply that long-continued ill-health had edged her words, we do not know, but certainly her letters display a brusqueness and curtness of tone bordering on rudeness. In 1860, the trustees of the Milwaukee College had used the $5000 received from the American Women's Educational Association to erect a home for the teachers and pupils, in accordance with what they believed to be Miss Beecher's ideas[102] and which building they expected the lady to organize as the Domestic Department of the College with herself as Principal. Great was their surprise, therefore, when she declined the honor, assigning as her reason that the new building was "unsuitable" in the "most important respects" in that it had a basement and a third story. These extra features rendered it capable of housing over thirty, whereas she had specifically indicated the building was to serve twelve. Mr. Lapham's letter of March 19, 1861 shows a mixture of puzzled surprise, gentle insistence and delicate flattery as he tries to explain the side of the trustees and to induce the ruffled lady to change her mind, but it was of no use. Her requirement of trustees was unquestioned obedience to her wishes, otherwise she refused to cooperate. Experience, she believed, had proved her correct. "In all new and untried schemes," she wrote him, "the public who do not understand always are calling them 'visionary' and 'unpractical'—Every improvement I have attempted for 40 years has been thus characterized. At Hartford I was sustained by a Board of Trustees including the Governor, judges and leading clergy and business men. They did not understand the need of many things I wanted—why I wanted six recitation rooms when I had conducted a school of 100 without one they could not see. But they had faith in me told me to draw my plan—and followed it to the letter. And so, in four years they found need for ten recitation rooms—and put on four more.

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[100] *The Autobiography of Samuel Sterling Sherman*, 85.

[101] Letter of Catharine Beecher to Mrs. Lynde, December 23, 1859. [Milwaukee-Downer College Archives.]

[102] *Autobiography of Samuel Sterling Sherman*, 86.

"So in the operation for providing teachers for the West—'Why,'—it was said—'the trouble and expense of collecting and preparing them'; as my plan involved? So much was this objected to that the Boston ladies formed another Society without this feature.

"But Gov. Slade had faith in my judgment—upheld the plan—and in four years the Boston ladies gave up and all agreed that my plan was not only best but cheapest.

"There is no way to carry out a new plan but to have Trustees who either fully understand and appreciate it—or else those have such confidence in the originator as to aid and cooperate in full faith without understanding entirely as to the details.

"I am convinced that the Trustees of the Milwaukee College are unable to do either—or rather I have so strong an impression that this is the case,—that I have no strength or courage to go forward." To his kindly close: "You have some reason for congratulation in knowing that your views in regard to Female Colleges are being carried out in various places, and especially at Poughkeepsie, where Mr. Vassar has covered himself with honor by his munificence in that direction. Though the details of the plans of these institutions may not coincide entirely with yours, yet the general idea is the same—the placing of female colleges on an equal footing with those intended for the other sex," she replied: "This is not the leading idea of my plan. It is rather to have Woman's profession endowed—made honorable—and ensured as an indispensable part of female institutions. If your College (or Mr. Vassar's) does not secure this, all that

I have been aiming at is wanting however much money is spent or how many learned teachers supported.''[103]

Of course one can sympathize to some extent with her exasperation. She had, as she said, given forty years of her life to the pursuit of an ideal and the College at Milwaukee had come nearest its realization. Her time, her money, her books had all been dedicated to the great purpose and here, on the eve of its achievement, the plan had gone awry. While to us the matter of a basement and third story might not mark the failure or success of an entire project, to Catharine Beecher, immersed as she was, in the intricate pattern of detail which her plan involved, one item out of proportion made her whole picture unbalanced and untrue to her ideal. Still she had not abandoned hopes of the College.

Early in 1863, the finances of the College were at low ebb;[104] for several years patronage had lessened and debt increased.[105] In this predicament, the trustees wrote Miss Beecher to learn whether there was some possibility of securing the promised endowment.[106] Her reply held no hope of immediate relief.

''Brooklyn, N. Y.
''March 11/63.

''Mr. Joseph Hamilton

''Yours of Feb. 28 is at hand: In reply I can only state it is my expectation that the sum of $9,000 could be raised for the Milwaukee College by the Am. Wom. Ed. Asso. by July next, in case the citizens of Milwaukee give assurance that they will erect a suitable building for the Domestic Department and a Calisthenic Hall and provide an endowment of $7,000 for one of the departments.

''On so short a notice I can only give my own opinion on the subject. But I shall take immediate measures to ascertain what can be done and in two or three weeks I suppose I can give a decided and reliable answer, as a basis for any action on the part of your board of Trustees that may seem desirable.

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[103] Letters of I. A. Lapham to Catharine Beecher, March 19, 1861, and Catharine Beecher to I. A. Lapham, March 25, 1861, [Milwaukee-Downer College Archives].

[104] *Milwaukee Sentinel*, April 22, 1863.

[105] Wight: *Annals of Milwaukee College*, 1848–1891, 22.

[106] *Ibid.*

"Respectfully yours,
Catharine E. Beecher."[107]

In this situation, Mr. Samuel Sherman, a member of the board of trustees, suggested that the premises be leased to some competent gentleman, with liberal authority for the employment of teachers and the charges of tuition, that he be charged a moderate rental for the premises and required to keep them in repair. The Board agreed and asked Mr. Sherman to become the gentleman in question.[108] But this was stepping on the tail of Miss Beecher's pet prejudice. Her schools were to provide remunerative employment to her sex, comparable with endowed professorships in men's colleges. To give over her most promising institution to the charge of a man was the crowning insult from these trustees. The ladies of the city[109] and the press supported her view. "We see no reason" announced the *Milwaukee Sentinel,* "why it should be necessary to place a man at the head of the institution . . . instead of securing the services of some competent and educated woman, of whom there are almost any number to be found here and at the east. It seems to us peculiarly appropriate that an institution of this kind, designed for the education of young Ladies, should be presided over by one of the same sex as the pupils, and to whom they might look as a pattern in the accomplishments they may be studying to acquire."[110] In May, Miss Beecher was in Milwaukee with a counter-proposition for the trustees.[111] It was that she would be responsible for the financial success of the institution for one year, with Miss Mortimer again at the head of the faculty.[112] In August she wrote Miss Mortimer that she was going on to raise the endowment and expected they would take possession of the college the next year.[113]

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[107] Milwaukee-Downer College Archives.

[108] *The Autobiography of Samuel Sterling Sherman,* 86.

[109] *Ibid.*

[110] *Milwaukee Sentinel,* April 22, 1863.

[111] *Milwaukee Sentinel,* May 27, 1863.

[112] Wight: *Annals of Milwaukee College,* 25.

[113] Letter of Mary Mortimer, August 31, 1863, quoted in Norton: *Life of Mary Mortimer,* 226.

MILWAUKEE-DOWNER COLLEGE IN 1930

The trustees, however, seemed to be losing faith and interest in the elusive endowment and expressed their preference for Professor Sherman's continuance.[114] Miss Beecher then published an impassioned appeal to the public[115] and this proving ineffective, threatened suit to reclaim the association's $5000. She won! Professor Sherman, not being willing to become a party to any legal complication, cancelled his lease and Miss Mortimer, in September, 1866,[116] again became head of the institution after the American Women's Educational Association had signed an agreement to waive all claims upon the college in case the long-promised endowment was not provided in a reasonable time.[117] Miss Beecher did not sign this agreement and there is no evidence to show that she had any part in the later life of the college. She no doubt felt this institution to be now on firm ground, guided by her friend and disciple and at least on the road to following her ideas. Her own immediate attention was demanded in a school in Lexington, Massachusetts, and beyond that her dreams were of Hartford, the place of her first efforts, as the ultimate scene of her final victory.

As for Milwaukee College, it was on the road to success, and though it never during her lifetime perfectly exemplified its founder's hope, it lived to be a shining monument to her efforts. Miss Mortimer ceased her connection with the college in the summer of 1874[118] from which time until its union with Downer College in 1895, it was mostly under the supervision of men[119] The two colleges combined in 1895 under the Presidency of Miss Ellen C. Sabin of Downer College, and moved in 1899 to the present location in the northern part of Milwaukee near Lake Michigan.

How the present college fulfills Miss Beecher's requirements of preparation for the three-phase profession of woman—the training of the human mind, the care of the human body in infancy and in sickness, and the conservation of the family state can be judged from its purpose as expressed by Miss Sabin in 1912: "The college has for its purpose the higher education of young women and it essays to prepare them to teach, to pursue graduate study, and to enter upon life's responsibilities,"[120] and by its current curricula. The present course of instruction provides special preparation for home-making, for teaching and for nursing.[121] The college follows, moreover, Beecher's thought in being non-sectarian, though distinctly a Christian institution.[122] About half of its 470 students during the year 1929–1930 were from the immediate vicinity, living at home,[123] this situation approximating Miss Beecher's ideal of an institution which avoided the "evils of boarding-school life" and left girls under the influence and watchful care of their parents.[124] Here, too, is the honorable employment for women so dear to Miss Beecher's heart, for the forty-eight faculty members are all women.[125] While these developments have probably not come through any conscious realization of Miss Beecher's ideas,[126] they seem to the writer to represent the fulfillment of her lifelong aims.

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[114] *The Autobiography of Samuel Sterling Sherman,* 87.
[115] *Ibid.*
[116] *Daily Wisconsin,* August 2, 1866.
[117] *The Autobiography of Samuel Sterling Sherman,* 88.
[118] Wight: *Annals of Milwaukee College,* 1848–1891, 32.
[119] E. C. Sabin in McKenny: *Educational History of Wisconsin,* 380.

Milwaukee College and the unsuccessful Burlington school do not represent the complete quota of Catharine Beecher's activities in the northwest. When the Honorable Thomas L. Kilpatrick, as agent of the committee at Jacksonville, was sent to Milwaukee to make his offer of library and apparatus, he was commissioned to extend the same offer to the citizens of Quincy, Illinois, an enterprising city of nearly 7000 inhabitants.[127] That he did so and that the citizens responded cordially and immediately is evident from the lengthy notice which appeared in both the Quincy newspapers:[128]

"Public meeting in relation to a Female Seminary in Quincy. Agreeably to public notice, a meeting of the citizens of Quincy was held at Danake's new hall, on Thursday evening, May 31st, which was organized by the appointment of Dr. J. N. Ralston, Chairman, and J. C. Palmer, Secretary.

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[120] McKenny: *Educational History of Wisconsin*, 380.
[121] *Catalogue, Milwaukee-Downer College*, 1930–31.
[122] Letter of Ellen C. Sabin, September 4, 1930.
[123] *Catalogue, Milwaukee-Downer College*, 1930–1931.
[124] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences*, 157.
[125] *Catalogue, Milwaukee-Downer College*, 1930–1931.
[126] Letter of Ellen C. Sabin, September 4, 1930.
[127] *7th Census of the United States;* Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy*, 145.
[128] *The Quincy Whig*, June 5, 1849; *The Quincy Herald*, June 15, 1849.

"The object of the meeting will fully appear by the following report, which was submitted by the committee appointed at a previous meeting. After the reading and acceptance of the report, it was resolved that the same be published in both the city papers—and that another meeting be called hereafter, by the chairman of this, for the further consideration of the subject set forth in said report:

"At an informal meeting of several of the citizens of Quincy, held at the office of Charles A. Savage, Esq., on the 7th inst., to hear statements from the Hon. L. Kilpatrick, agent of the board of National Popular Education, who had visited Quincy, with a view to interest the citizens of the place upon a subject of female education, and communicate the intelligence that Miss Beecher was desirous of establishing a female high school in the State of Illinois, and that Quincy had been considered by her a favorable location for such an institution, a committee was appointed to consider the subject presented by Mr. Kilpatrick—examine suitable locations, and present some general plans for buildings—with estimates of cost, etc., and report at some future meeting. Under these general instructions the committee now report as follows: As respects the plans of Miss Beecher, they are somewhat as follows—she wishes to establish one model high school or female seminary in each of the western States. She proposes if the citizens of the place where she may desire to establish a school, will furnish suitable school rooms and boarding house, and by an association or otherwise, obligate themselves to pay the ordinary annual tuition fees for eighty-five pupils—sixty in the higher and twenty-five in the primary department—she on her part in consideration of the rent of buildings and tuition of pupils proposes to furnish four well qualified teachers to take the entire charge of the institution, and also to furnish one thousand dollars in library, apparatus and furniture, at eastern cost, for the use of the school, and conduct it under the general direction of such trustees as the association may appoint. She also wishes to connect with the institution a Teacher's or

Normal department, which may serve as a teacher's home for young ladies coming west as teachers.

"The Committee after having duly considered the subject of the establishment of a female seminary of a high order in the city of Quincy, in connection with the present and increasing demand for such an institution, are unanimous in recommending the enterprise to the favorable consideration of our citizens, and hope the following or some better project, will receive the concurrence of this meeting; It is proposed to purchase a lot and erect on the same necessary and suitable buildings—the cost of which is estimated to be not less than ten thousand dollars—that this sum be subscribed by the citizens of Quincy and vicinity, in shares to the number of one hundred at one hundred dollars each—that the property belong to the share or stockholders, who by their own by-laws may regulate the general affairs of the institution, possessing the power of leasing the building to any person or persons they may think proper, and that application be made to the Legislature at its next session for a charter . . ."[129] The editor of the *Quincy Whig* stated that he most cheerfully endorsed the recommendation of the committee and hoped to see the subject agitated until the object was accomplished.[130]

On June 15, the *Herald* announced a meeting of those favorable to the erection of a female seminary and the editor added as a spur: "The purpose is a most laudable one, and should excite general interest. Let there be a general attendance."[131] The scheduled meeting occurred and resulted in the adoption of the suggestions of ten days before.[132] The proposed institution aroused considerable interest. "A Friend to Education" wrote to the *Quincy Whig* concerning it on June 26 and again on July 3. He said in part: "It may be objected that there is already an institution of this character in the city, and there is no need for another. Much praise is due, and is freely and heartily given to the lady who has conducted the Female Seminary already in operation. . . But the accommodations of such an institution must from necessity be so limited as not to meet the demands of the population which is gathered in and around the city. We need a public institution—one which will rally around itself the sympathy, and if possible the support of the whole people. We need one which shall proceed from the people, and which shall open wide its arms to receive the youth who are rapidly, and in large numbers coming up to years of maturity. Who that looks upon the evidence of thrift and enterprise that characterise the people of this city and its neighborhood can doubt that with the will there can be found a way to establish an institution which will tell upon the destiny of ages to come! Various aspects of this matter will be presented hereafter,

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[129] *The Quincy Whig*, June 5, 1849.
[130] *Quincy Whig*, June 5, 1847.
[131] *Quincy Herald*, June 15, 1849.
[132] *Quincy Whig*, June 19, 1849; *Quincy Herald*, June 22, 1849.

"A FRIEND TO EDUCATION."

Before these excellent intentions could be fully executed, however, the cholera placed its numbing hand on all activities, delaying the plans for a year.[133] In the spring of 1850, when Miss Beecher was travelling west with Mary Mortimer, she included Quincy in her itinerary. Arriving April 25,[134] the two ladies spent three days there, reviving the interest of the citizens in the matter of the school. Miss Mortimer's letter, on her return, tells of their visit: "At Quincy we were treated to best cheer. The evening of the day after our arrival, we met a number of gentlemen of the city. I read (a paper) and Miss B. talked. The next day Miss B. talked with the ladies, and they, as well as the gentlemen, seemed very much interested in Miss Beecher's plans and proposals to them. We saw a good many people, had fine opportunities of seeing the city, and surrounding country, and found all very promising and interesting. All needful arrangements were made preparatory to opening a school in the fall."[135]

The next fall Miss Beecher, proposing "to make something of a stir"[136] went to Quincy with four ladies and organized a school which in a short time had more than a hundred pupils and in every respect looked exceedingly promising.[137] During the two months she was there[138] Catharine and the other teachers went to housekeeping in the school house, Catharine, of course, managing the details. Thus housewifely duties were added to those of teacher and organizer.[139] Just as school affairs seemed to be settling into place for a successful winter, the trustees received word from certain over-conscientious citizens of Burlington, of a school which had as auspiciously begun there and had come to a speedy and disastrous end. They told of a school with an enticing new method which had ended in the failure of all arrangements, the illness of the organizer and the departure of the teachers. The Quincy trustees, upon hearing this discouraging story, naturally entertained serious apprehensions and decided that perhaps it would be best to have the school organized on the old basis of Principal and teachers. Since a faculty of coequal teachers was an indispensable part of Miss Beecher's offer, the decision meant relinquishing the $1000, but the trustees, with faint hearts, preferred the security of the old to a gamble on the new, even if they were paid for it. So the school passed out of Miss Beecher's hands, with which transfer the lady expressed herself satisfied. She had, at the moment other demands upon her time and the success of the institution at Milwaukee dulled the keenness of any disappointment she might otherwise have felt.[140]

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[133] Beecher, C. E.: *Truth Stranger than Fiction,* Note at beginning.

[134] *Quincy Herald* and *Argus,* April 26, 1850.

[135] Letter of Mary Mortimer, quoted by Norton in *Life of Mary Mortimer,* 124.

[136] Letter of Mary Mortimer, July 11, 1850, in Norton: *Life of Mary Mortimer,* 127.

Early in 1853, with the Milwaukee Normal Institute seemingly well rooted, Miss Beecher's eye roved the horizon for another experiment. It lighted upon a small but very promising city, at the corner of three states—Dubuque, Iowa. This city, dated its existence back to July of 1836 when, by act of Congress, it had been surveyed and plotted.[141] In 1850 it had a population of a little more than 4000[142] and excellent prospects from its lead mines, emigration from the eastern states and increasing agriculture and trade.[143] In 1854 it had gained importance because it was the northwest terminus of the Illinois Central Railroad[144] and by 1855 the citizens were hopefully looking ahead fifteen years when they expected to find their city one of the principal ones of the country, laying strong claim to the consideration then given Chicago, St. Louis and Detroit.[145] Small wonder that Miss Beecher thought this ambitious little city a good spot for a school. Presumably, she visited here in February of 1853 to make her usual proposition to the citizens,[146] and met with a warm response. In the latter part of April, 1854, Mrs. Parsons arrived from Milwaukee to organize the school[147] which opened on the first Monday of May[148] in the M. E. Church.[149] This was but a temporary shelter, however, for a new building was already in process of construction. On the preceding July 21, 1853, the corner-stone had been laid with "appropriate ceremony on the lot adjoining, and north of the grave yard."[150] In October, 1854, the Seminary, now referred to as the Female College, opened in its new home,[151] which resembled somewhat that of the Milwaukee Female College. Whether Miss Beecher was responsible for the plan of this one, we do not know, but it is more than likely that she was. The new building was considered, in its architectural beauty, both an ornament and a credit to the city.[152] The American Women's Educational Association expressed itself delighted with the new school, located as it was on high grounds, overlooking the "Father of Waters" and standing a noble monument to the wisdom and enlightened public spirit of the community.[153] The main building was forty by eighty-five, the wings each twenty-five by forty-five and the building would accommodate 500 pupils. Over $11,000 had been spent on it by December, 1855.[154]

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[137] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy*, 152.
[138] *Ibid.*, 151.
[139] *Ibid.*, 152.
[140] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy*, 147–151.
[141] Oldt, F.: *History of Dubuque County*, 163.
[142] *Daily Miner's Express*, December 25, 1850.
[143] Oldt, F.: *History of Dubuque County*, 462, 529.

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[144] *Second Annual Report A. W. E. A.*

[145] *Express and Herald,* November 27, 1855.

[146] Oldt, F.: *History of Dubuque County,* 934.

[147] Letter of Mary Mortimer, April 14, 1854, in Norton: *Life of Mary Mortimer,* 162.

[148] *Second Annual Report A. W. E. A.*

[149] *Dubuque Directory,* 1857, 28.

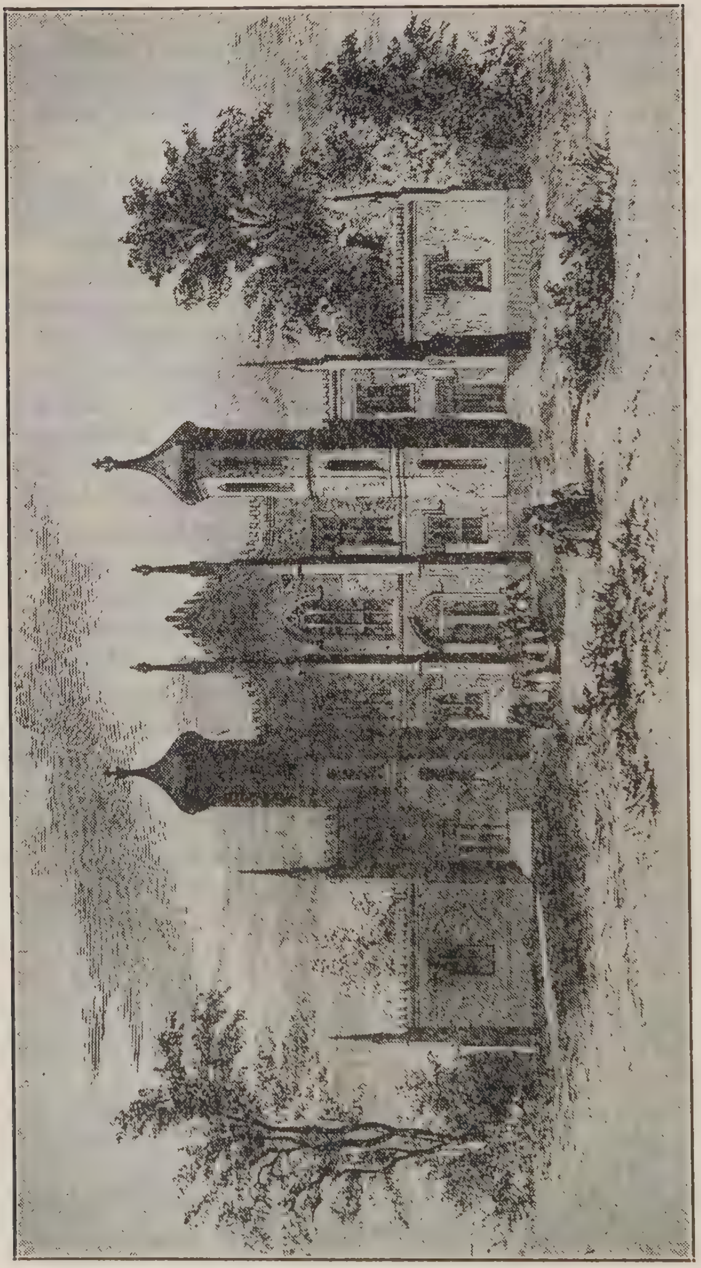
[150] *Daily Herald,* July 20, 1853; *Daily Miner's Express,* July 20, 1853.

[151] *Daily Herald,* October 27, 1854.

[152] *The Voice of Iowa,* I, 185.

[153] *Second Annual Report of A. W. E. A.*

[154] *Daily Express and Herald,* December 7, 1855.



INSTITUTION AT DUBUQUE, IOWA

After a committee had spent some time visiting it during the winter of 1854–1855, this good opinion was further corroborated. It was found that the Board of Trustees embraced some of the most talented, wealthy and reliable citizens from the different religious denominations and that they uniformly acted with great efficiency, discretion and public spirit. The only serious embarrassment arose from the great influx of population into the place, which greatly exceeded the accommodations for residence. This made it difficult to secure boarding places for the teachers, and impossible to provide them for pupils from abroad.[155]

In 1855 the course of instruction was such that a young lady could enter the institution and be educated from the rudiments to the higher branches of an English education, with modern languages, classical branches, vocal and instrumental music, drawing, painting and several of the natural sciences, but we are surprised to note the absence of any mention of Calisthenics in a school patronized by Miss Beecher. The public was informed that: ''the whole course of study had been planned and carried out with the design and purpose not only of developing the intellect and acquiring knowledge, but is adapted to cultivate those qualities that constitute, adorn and perfect the female character.''[156] Here, as at Milwaukee, a committee of ladies, aided the Institute by means of soirées and festivals,[157] but even so, it was not independent of outside help during its first year. The American Women's Educational Association paid considerably more than a thousand dollars for apparatus, library, text-books, teachers' salaries and other expenses, although this was contrary to the agreement. They felt, however, that the citizens had manifested an interest and liberality which foretold the eventual meeting of all reasonable expectations.

As the year 1855 marked the peak of Dubuque's prosperity[158] so did it mark the high point of the Female College's success. Catharine Beecher, visiting here in December, 1855, and speaking before a group of the friends of the college, pronounced it for the first time in condition to receive the endowment of $20,000.

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[155] *Third Annual Report, A. W. E. A.*

[156] *Daily Express and Herald,* December 7, 1855.

[157] *Daily Express and Herald,* December 19, 1855.

[158] Oldt, F.: *History of Dubuque County,* 529.

The term immediately preceding had found the income sufficient to pay the teachers and the citizens were aiming to remove the debt on the building. The trustees were assured that the endowment would come.[159] The promise was never made good. The men who were to bestow the endowment for this and Milwaukee College suffered financial losses and the American Women's Educational Association never succeeded in obtaining the full sum elsewhere.[160]

The Dubuque Female College alias Seminary dragged out a sickly existence for a few years. The panic of 1857 plus the growing sentiment for a High School as part of the system of public schools probably contributed to the decline of this private institution.[161] During the summer of 1857 there was much newspaper discussion of the possible purchase of the Female College building for the proposed High School.[162] In 1859 debts became pressing[163] and after this year the institution is no longer listed in the *City Directory.*

Thus, of the four schools organized by Miss Beecher in the northwest, three of them ended in failure, due to causes that were certainly no fault of hers, unless supreme optimism be counted a fault. But if we expect to find her depressed and discouraged, we should be misjudging the tone of her temperament. At the close of her *Educational Reminiscences* in 1874, after recounting the story of her various schools, she wrote: "Although the previous narrative is chiefly a record of many failures as to permanent results, there are substantial reasons for anticipating ultimate success in the main features of what has been attempted by the American Women's Educational Association."[164] And her buoyant hopefulness never left her until her death.

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[159] *Daily Express and Herald,* December 27, 1855.
[160] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences,* 197.
[161] *Weekly Express and Herald,* Summer of 1857.
[162] *Daily Express and Herald,* 1857–1858.
[163] *Daily Express and Herald,* 1859.
[164] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences,* 201.

CHAPTER VIII

THE AUTHOR

Between 1827 and 1874, Catharine Beecher's literary output comprised more than two dozen books, besides numerous written addresses, circulars, and magazine articles. During this period of almost half a century, there was a remarkable consistency in her writings, for while, at first glance, the titles seem to show considerable variety of subject-matter, a closer analysis proves them nearly all directed toward one end. One may roughly separate Miss Beecher's works into two groups: those dealing with religion and those concerned with education. We shall learn, however, that the two are related in her mind and that it is with the teacher's eye that she views and attempts to solve religious problems. Standing alone, not belonging in either group, are her *Essay on Slavery and Abolitionism* (1837), her *Truth Stranger Than Fiction* (1850) and *The Biographical Remains of Rev. George Beecher* (1844).

As one glances at the dates of publication of this long list of books, one is amazed at the mere physical labor involved in producing brain-children in such rapid and continuous succession: 1829, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1841, 1842, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1850, 1851, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1860, 1864, 1869, 1870, 1872, 1873, 1874. One wonders how she had time to make eight journeys to Wisconsin, to keep a motherly eye on associations and schools, and to stir up the public once in a while by an address or article. But the fact remains that she accomplished it all and, for the most part, while in a state of poor health.

It seems natural that Catharine Beecher's pen should be active on religious questions, with a father and seven brothers in the ministry. Accustomed, as she was all her life, to hear the perplexing knots of theology dexterously untied to the satisfaction of her father and brothers, it was inevitable that her mind should have formed a bent in this direction. That it was expressed in a form unlike the more glamorous mode of her novelist sister was due to the fact that she was Catharine and not Harriet, and therefore possessed of a markedly different set of reactions to external stimuli. A famous suffragist has written in her autobiography: "As well wonder why lilies and lilacs in the same latitude are not all alike in color and equally fragrant. Children differ as widely as these in the primal elements of their physical and psychical life."[1] In Catharine, these primal elements ordained that she should attack her problems with a sincerity and directness which eschewed the more circuitous route of the romance-maker, and though her language was sometimes delicately beautiful, it was more often plain, unfrilled, and even blunt.

As has been described in a former chapter,[2] Catharine's awakening to the many vexing questions involved in the theology of Calvinism was brought about suddenly by the tragic death of her lover, Alexander Metcalf Fisher, in April of 1822, under circumstances which, according to the accepted beliefs of the Congregational Church, consigned his soul to an eternity of torment. During the following half-dozen years, Catharine's mind was torn with conflict over the apparent inconsistency of the tenets of her father's religion and life as she saw it. Eventually, though she presented an unrippled surface of acceptance to these unreconcilable conditions, there lay beneath a turmoil of fear, anger and doubt. Catharine's suffering was probably duplicated by many a child of this theology. Horace Mann, having spent his youth in Franklin, Massachusetts, under the very Dr. Emmons to whom Catharine listened for a year, said many years after: "I feel constantly, and more and more deeply, what an unspeakable calamity a Calvinistic education is. What a dreadful thing it was for me! If it did not succeed in making me that horrible thing, a Calvinist, it did succeed in depriving me of that filial love of God, that tenderness, that sweetness, that intimacy, that desiring, nestling love, which I say is natural that a child should feel toward a Father who combines all excellence."[3] Catharine reached somewhat similar conclusions and her books dealing with religious topics show her final repudiation of the

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[1] Stanton, E. C.: *Reminiscences of Eighty Years and More*, 1.

[2] *Chapter III.*

[3] Hubbell, G. A.: *Horace Mann*, 7.

"Faith Once Delivered to the Saints," as her father had thundered it in Boston in 1824.

Catharine Beecher's first attempt to put her scattered thoughts into form was forced upon her in the exercise of her duties at the Hartford Female Seminary. Upon joining her father's church, she had determined to assume that God was wise, just, and good and that she would seek to ascertain all that was required of her and then strive to do it. She imitated the methods of "Christian worthies": kept a religious diary, read religious books, went to religious meetings, prayed in her school and taught religion to her pupils as it had been taught to her. But when these earnest young pupils came to her with the same problems with which she, herself, had struggled, she was sorely perplexed and could scarcely nerve herself to instruct them along the accepted lines.[4] At the same time that Catharine was unhappily submerged in this sea of doubt, she was teaching a class in mental philosophy and from the intermingling of the elements of this science with those of theology was evolved a new compound, in the form of her *Elements of Mental and Moral Philosophy* of 1831. The Catharine of this day was far less certain of her ability to solve efficiently the world's problems than was the authoress of a decade later, so this little book carries such apologies as "It is in too imperfect a form to be presented to the public" and "Of course it is expected that defects and mistakes, will be discovered, and it is hoped that due allowance will be made, for what the writer knows is a hasty and imperfect attempt to remedy some difficulties in education, which for a long time have been daily subjects of regret."[5] The little book was printed, but never published, distributed, or sold. After submitting it to the criticism of men of various schools and sects, it was found to contain so much that might result in theological controversy, that it was thought modest and wise for Catharine to wait until age, experience and farther examination had lent their maturing influence.[6]

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[4] Beecher, C. E.: *Common Sense*, xxiv.
[5] Beecher, C. E.: *Mental and Moral Philosophy*, note at end of book.
[6] Beecher, C. E.: *Common Sense*, ix.

To the modern mind, unaccustomed to a keen, hair-splitting theology, this book seems innocent enough. The objects are listed as:

''1. To describe the nature of the different powers and operations of mind.

''2. To show the objects for which it was made.

''3. To show the mode by which this object can be secured.

''4. To show that the mind of man is a disordered one.

''5. To show the mode by which it can be rectified, so as to accomplish the purpose for which it was made, to show that this mode is revealed in a communication from its maker; and to establish the authority of this record.

''6. To show the consequences in a future state, of the continued disordered operation of mind.

''7. To show the causes why the remedy for the disordered operation of mind, is not more generally secured.

''8. To exhibit the mode of training and regulating mind, according to the dictates of experience, reason, and the revealed communications of its author.''[7]

The following extract from her chapter on ''habit'' shows the combination of the psychological and the religious:

''This peculiarity of our mental character leads to the most anxious and painful reflections. Does every act of indolence, selfishness, pride, envy, and revenge, lead to the formation of one of these powerful fetters, these habits of crime so easily formed and so difficult to break? Does the resistance of the admonitions of fear, shame, and conscience, tend to form another terrible habit which removes the most powerful restraints of guilt? Is every act of meekness, self-denial, justice, magnanimity, and obedience necessary . . . as a golden link in the bright chain of some habit indispensable to our happiness? Is the soul so constituted that its susceptibilities can never be destroyed? Is there an hour coming when all the illusions of life will cease, and the soul must return to commune with itself, and understand and feel all its iron chains of guilt and miserable captivity? What terrible anticipations for a mind estranged from the only foundation of safety and hope, the favour and guidance of Him who formed the undying spirit, and who offers, when sought, to guide it aright; but, who, when forsaken, can never afford His almighty aid''![8] Since this book was not published, its heretical leanings, whatever they were, caused no flurries among the watch-dogs of Calvinism; and twenty-five years later, when Catharine, who had achieved the ''age, experience and farther examination,'' thought necessary to express her matured conclusions in less placating terms, the tolerance of these same guardians had somewhat broadened and the attacks were undoubtedly milder than those of a quarter-century before would have been. Moreover, we shall learn that the religious world of a later day was becoming accustomed to the independence of the Beechers and probably would have been disappointed if their writings had proved to be entirely orthodox.

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[7] *Ibid.*, iv.

In 1836, Catharine made her next attempt to untie the Gordian knots of theology in her *Letters on the Difficulties of Religion.* This expression of her thoughts was not made in the half-apologetic tone of her 1831 production, but with that self-assurance which came to be characteristic of her later pronouncements. Theology must have been the absorbing topic of the day in the Beecher family in the years preceding 1836, for Lyman Beecher had been accused of heresy and tried for it by the Cincinnati Synod and had published, at their request, the same year as Catharine's book, his *Views in Theology.*[9] His book and Catharine's present an interesting contrast as simultaneous products of the same household. Lyman talks of the doctrinal backbone of the Presbyterian Church: ''the doctrine of God's decrees, the fall, the native and total depravity of man, election, effectual calling, or regeneration by the special influence of the Holy Spirit, justification by the merits of Christ through faith, and the perseverence of the Saints,''[10] which were the views held by Jonathan Edwards, corroborated by the Confession of Faith and by the standard writers of the Church.[11] Dr. Beecher enlarges upon ''Original Sin'' and ''Total Depravity'' in which connection he gives this cheerful picture:

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[8] Hart, J. S.: *Female Prose Writers of America,* (1870), 284, 285.
[9] *Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review,* IX, 216–237.
[10] Beecher, Lyman: *Views in Theology,* 155.
[11] *Ibid.,* 166.

"Total depravity includes the absence of all holiness. . . . It is universal—there being not a mere man of all the millions of Adam's posterity that hath lived and not sinned. It is entire—every imagination of the thoughts of the heart being evil only—there being none that do good, no not one."[12]

Catharine's exposition, on the other hand, is of a practical nature, espousing Presbyterianism to be sure, in name at least, but concerning itself little with the more depressing doctrines. Her points are made in a series of letters supposed to be written to particular atheists, Unitarians and other sceptics, answering questions or objections raised by them. She speaks not only of right views of truth and duty, but also of the right state of heart which will lead men to practice what they know to be right; of virtue and moral excellence and of happiness. She defines them as "those principles of action that regulate men in the common business of life, principles, which, though not drawn out into axioms, are as well understood, as if they were formally propounded, like the vulgar and sententious principles of science."[13] The five principles she lists are these:

"1. Nothing is to be considered as true, which has no positive evidence in its favor.

"2. Whatever has the balance of evidence in its favor, is to be considered as true, even when there is some opposing evidence.

"3. Men have the control of their belief; that they are to blame for believing wrong; and that their guilt for wrong belief, is proportional to the importance of the interests involved, and the amount of evidence within reach.

"4. A man's actions in certain cases, are the proof of what is his belief.

"5. Where there are two alternatives, and one of them involves danger, and the other is equally promising as to benefit, and is also perfectly safe, we are obliged to choose the safe course."[14] With these weapons, Catharine slays the looming enemies,—atheism and Unitarianism—and solves such practical difficulties as discovering "what is and what is not demanded in the Bible as a condition of eternal safety'';[15] ''Difficulties occasioned by the inconsistent lives and characters of the professers of religion'';[16] ''Objection that man has not the control of his emotions'';[17] and, ''certain unpleasant associations in regard to the character of God.''[18] In explaining the last, Catharine shows a richness of imagery that is not expected, for while her language is always well-chosen, it is rarely effusive. ''The exterior of nature,'' she writes, ''is the clothing of the Almighty Mind, where in visible forms of beauty, dignity and grace, he still communes with those children of his love, that lift the adoring eye to him, who smiles in the landscape, and breathes in the gale. The heavings of the ocean, the rush of the tornado, the sheeted lightning, and the talking of fierce thunderbolts, are majestic expressions of his dignity and power. The whispers of evening, the low murmur of waters, the soft melodies of nature, are the breathings of his love. In the graceful movements of vegetable life, in gliding shadows and curling vapors, in the delicately blending colors, and in the soft harmonies of animated existence, may be discovered his gentleness, purity and grace. The sighing of the wind, the moaning of the wood, the beaming of some lonely star, the pensive gleam of moonlight, recall his tenderness and pitying sympathy. Man cannot turn his eye abroad, without beholding in the thousand mirrors of nature, the glories and perfect form of him who filleth all in all.''[19]

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[12] *Ibid.*, 195.

[13] Beecher, C. E.: *Common Sense*, 50.

[14] *Ibid.*, 50–56.

This is not the stern God of Calvinism, who rules by fear alone, but a milder, more paternal one. Catharine dared to interpret according to her own standards, and that trumpet of Presbyterianism, the *Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review,* devoted thirty pages to a review of her book, starting with lavish praise and ending with insulting abuse. The condescension of the male toward the ''dependent sex'' is exhibited in both phases of his ''Indeed, there is nothing feminine in the productions of the lady: if the work had been anoymous we should never have suspected that it proceeded from the hand of a lady[20] to his "we cease to expect accurate statements from Miss B. We suspect that she is inclined to meddle with too many things, and with things out of her reach." As a final touch of authority, he quoted Saint Paul and his "I suffer not a woman to speak in the church." Elaborating this, he continues: "and although he has not prohibited them from teaching by writing for the public, yet we cannot but think, if he were now on earth, he would discourage the female sex, however gifted or learned, from giving themselves in theological and ecclesiastical controveries."[21]

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[15] *Ibid.,* ix.
[16] *Ibid.,* xii.
[17] *Ibid.,* xiii.
[18] *Ibid.,* xv.
[19] *Ibid.,* 189.

Whether Catharine was irritated by this typical male reaction of the day, we do not know. That she did not bow to this limitation of her field we have evidence for, in October of 1839, she wrote for the *Biblical Repository* "An Essay on Cause and Effect in Connexion with the Doctrines of Fatalism and Free Agency."[22] This time she prevented any flattery or criticism due to her sex by requesting that her name be withheld and the result proved her wisdom. Her "Essay" called forth a refutation from none less than the Rev. Leonard Woods, Professor of Theology in the Theological Seminary at Andover, Massachusetts, who, from "firstly" to "eighthly," combatted the arguments of "the anonymous writer who has given such evidence of ability to write so well."[23] The good Doctor little dreamed that he was expending his heavy logic on a mere woman and one can easily picture his dismayed face should he have discovered his error.

In this product of Catharine's, we see further evidence of the deep unrest which possessed her soul. Since that fateful spring of 1822, her mind had pursued an endless treadmill in its vain effort to answer the question: "What must we do to be saved"? In these writings of hers, she gives the impression that she is thinking aloud; that she speaks her thoughts less for the purpose of convincing others than to find some peace for herself. So in this case, she argues, that the doctrine of "Free Agency," preached by the Calvinists, was nothing more than a species of

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[20] *Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review* (1836), VIII, N.S., 515.
[21] *Ibid.*, 544.
[22] *Biblical Repository* (1839), 381–408.
[23] *Biblical Repository*, January, 1840, and July, 1840.

"Fatalism" for which she substitutes what she considers a more rational doctrine. To her aid she calls the forces of physics, logic and philosophy. Her nephew, Charles Stowe,[24] has said that an eminent New England professor called this essay the ablest refutation of Edwards on the Will which was ever written.

Almost twenty years elapsed before Catharine wrote on religion again,—twenty years devoted to her great plans in the Northwest. In 1857 her *Common Sense Applied to Religion* came from the press, four years after her brother Edward had published his *Conflict of Ages.* Catharine was not the only member of this famous family who resented the depressing doctrines, for Edward devised a unique theory to account for "Original Sin" and Charles, espousing this idea ten years later, was tried for heresy.[25] It has been said that Edward Beecher's *Conflict of Ages* would never have been written, had it not been for Catharine's great mental agony during 1822 and 1823.[26]

Perhaps this is true for he, himself, says[27] "beneath every benevolent man's intellectual efforts on this subject there has been a deeply affecting personal experience, which, if known, would show, in a manner adapted to awaken deep sympathy, why he has reasoned as he has." In Catharine's case, the cause of this book of hers is given in her introduction: "This work is the result of thirty years of devotion to the training of the human mind for the great end for which it was created. Early in that period it was felt that at the very foundation of such efforts were opposing theological theories that seemed at war with both the common sense and the moral sense of mankind."[28] We begin to understand her point of view when we recall that the much-praised Hannah More wrote of the "Natural Depravity of Children" these blighting words: "Is it not a fundamental error to consider children as innocent beings, whose little weaknesses may perhaps want some correction, rather than as beings who bring into the world a corrupt nature and evil dispositions, which it should be the great end of education to rectify?''[29] The belief of orthodoxy in man's depravity was about like this:

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[24] Stowe, Charles: *Harriet Beecher Stowe,* 25.
[25] *Christian Examiner,* LXXV, 387–395.
[26] Stowe, C.: *H. B. Stowe,* 49.
[27] Beecher, E.: *Conflict of Ages,* 4.
[28] Beecher, C. E.: *Common Sense,* introduction.

''1. His deep innate depravity as an individual.

''2. His subjection to the power of depraved social organizations called, taken collectively, the world.

''3. His subjection to the power of unseen malignant spirits, who are centralized and controlled by Satan, the leader and head.''[30] Catharine says: ''The real difficulty at the root of all is the indifference to the training of the habits of childhood resulting from its long-established dogma of a misformed mind, whose propagated incapacity is not within the reach of educational training.''[31] In a word, Catharine attributes the failure of her educational plans to these abhorred beliefs.

It is therefore her purpose in this book to present a new and better system of Christian Ethics. To this end, she first sets out to prove that the doctrine of natural depravity is a fiction of theology unsupported by the Word of God and opposed to the intuitive convictions of reason. She states that it was unknown to the early Christians, being invented by St. Augustine and that, once adopted as a part of the Faith, it gradually fortified itself by tradition, custom and prejudice. To arrive at these conclusions, she uses the criteria of reason and common sense,—tools, the excellence of which has been attested by their use from the time of the Greeks to the present day.[32] To aid her in applying common sense to her difficulties, Catharine lays down eleven ''intuitive truths'' which are a somewhat more analytical presentation of the five principles of her *Letters on the Difficulties of Religion* of 1836:

''1. There is some self-existent cause, who never began to be, and who is the author of the universe of matter and mind.

''2. Two classes of causes exist, *viz.:* material and immaterial.

''3. The mind of man is a free agent.

''4. Design is evidence of an intelligent cause and the nature of a design proves the intention and character of the author.

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[29] More, Hannah: *Female Education,* I, 60.

[30] Beecher, Edward: *Conflict of Ages,* 62.

[31] Beecher, C. E.: *Common Sense,* 324.

[32] Harrison, Frederic: *The Philosophy of Common Sense,* ix.

"5. No rational mind will choose evil without any hope of compensating good.

"6. Things will continue as they are and have been till there is evidence of a change or of a cause for a change.

"7. Needless destruction of happiness or infliction of pain is wrong, and that whatever tends to produce the most happiness is right.

"8. The evidence of our senses is reliable.

"9. Whenever there is a change in the established order of nature surpassing human power, it is evidence of a supernatural agency that is sanctioned by the author of the laws of nature.

"10. In all practical concerns we are to consider that course right which has the balance of evidence in its favor.

"11. Nothing is to be assumed as true unless there is some evidence that it is so."

To reach her end, she discusses the powers of the mind, the testimony of the Bible and lastly gives the narrative of her own intellectual and spiritual exodus from Calvinism. The conclusion at which she arrives is this: that every human being is born with a perfect mental constitution, that sin is to be found only in voluntary action and that by proper education, proper habits, proper social influence and proper circumstances generally, voluntary action may be so controlled as to be perfect.

The book was both condemned and praised in the religious journals. One writer thought it commendable to make popular and practical some general common-sense doctrines of psychology and Scripture interpretation.[33] Another waxed more enthusiastic, hailed the publication with great satisfaction, spoke of the remarkable clearness, thoroughness and effectiveness of the method and the general ability shown throughout.[34] A third, however, was skeptical and disapproving: "It attacks openly and with an air of grave earnestness a fundamental doctrine of the Christian Religion, and therefore will win a prompt audience from the already large and still growing number of avowed infidels."[35] How much it lived up to the predictions of either reviewer, we do not know. It is likely that it did not materially change either belief or practice. Perhaps Catharine had thought to create a depth and breadth of sentiment comparable to that following her sister's great novel, but certainly it had no such effect. Few books have had.

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[33] *Christian Examiner*, LXIII, 133.
[34] *Ibid.*, LXIV, 211.
[35] *Church Review*, X, 421.

Three years after the appearance of *Common Sense Applied to Religion* came another exposition in similar vein. In 1860, Harper published Miss Beecher's *An Appeal to the People in Behalf of their Rights as Authorized Interpreters of the Bible.* This book, contains practically nothing in the way of theology, psychology or pedagogy that is not in the preceding volume although the principles involved are newly illustrated. With a flourish, Miss Beecher dedicates this work to "The Editors of the Secular Press, The True Tribunes of the People, Called of God in Behalf of the Commonwealth to Defend Liberty of Conscience, Freedom of Speech, and the Right of all to Interpret the Bible for Themselves, unrestrained by any Ecclesiastical Power."

Miss Beecher states that the religious world is on the verge of a great impending change, which has been preceded by a long course of unobserved preparation. The great question is "What must we do to be saved"? It is important to each individual and to every parent and educator of children. She then assigns as the object of her book: "to show that the answer to this great question has, for ages, been involved in mystery and difficulty by means of a philosophical theory, . . . which is so contrary to the moral sense of humanity, that theologians have failed to render it consistent and satisfactory even to themselves and that the people are endowed with principles of common sense by which they can educe from the works of God a system of natural religion far superior."[36] In the course of her explanation to "the People" of the line of reasoning they are to follow, Catharine is, now and then, what one writer has called her—"the arid authoress"[37] for the discussions partake of the flavor of dictionary citations and encyclopedic information. On the other hand, there are many spots in the book where a point is so well made or a view so clearly expressed that interest is aroused and held.

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[36] Beecher, C. E.: *An Appeal to the People,* 2.

[37] Sachs, E.: *The Terrible Siren,* 86.

Catharine contrasts at length what she calls "the two systems of theology"—the Augustinian (orthodox) and the Common Sense (hers) and elaborates the latter on all controversial points. In brief, her system teaches that all mankind must, in order to have eternal happiness, be trained by human agencies to choose what is best, guided by the laws of God, as learned by experience or by revelation.[38]

Four years later, 1864, Catharine Beecher made her last public exposition of her system of common sense, this time applied to the *Religious Training of Children in the School, the Family and the Church.* In the introduction she says that her observations over a long period of time in the families of her former pupils and relatives have resulted in the "deep conviction that the right training of children is the most difficult of all human pursuits; that success is invariably proportioned to the wisdom and fitness of the methods pursued; that the best modes are to be obtained only by a wide experience, involving many failures and, as yet, offering no perfect examples; that the records of experience are indispensable to future success, and that educators like medical men are bound to make such records for the benefit of the profession."

Following this expressed intention, the author explains that a child is trained to be religious just as far as he is educated to obey the laws of God in regard to self, to others, and to his maker.[39] She then describes the method by which this obedience is to be produced, advising the insurance of the prompt obedience of faith with small children rather than that of reasoning and persuasion. The infant is to learn self-sacrifice when it first must give up its place in the mother's arms to the next infant and when it must share playthings and help amuse. The child is to get his ideas of God from his own parents; the characteristics of love, patience, meekness, gentleness, sympathy, self-denying labors and care, united with firm and steady government can readily be transferred in conception to the Heavenly Father. Most emphatic is she in advising against the use of fear as a motive, though this was the one predominantly employed in her own generation among the orthodox. When the child passes from the nursery to the schoolroom, the teacher should explain that the great end of school education is to train him to a loving and prompt obedience to the laws of God as the best and only sure way of being happy. Thus, according to her view, an infant begins to be a Christian as soon as it begins to act intelligently in conforming to the laws of God, with the intention to act right; and it grows in Christian life just as fast as its impulses and desires are controlled by a voluntary submission to the laws of true rectitude, which are none other than the laws of God. An infant begins its Christian life long before it has any knowledge of God, while it is forming habits of loving obedience to its earthly parents, who are the agents, and should be the representatives, to the child, of its heavenly father.[40] This, of course, was quite contrary to the common theory, which contended that until a child's mind was new created or "healed," in its constitutional powers, no true love and obedience to God could occur.[41] Having definitely and finally rejected this "soul-withering system"[42] and its organ, the Presbyterian Church, Catharine advocates the Episcopal Church, which she had recently joined.[43] According to this faith, instead of "joining the church" in the Congregational sense, which means being examined and voted into a close corporation as already true Christians and fitted for heaven, all children are in the church and confirmation is a public acknowledgment of their obligations and their desire and purpose to fulfill them in future by God's help.[44] When a friend of another denomination wrote Catharine that even in the Episcopal Church she would find a great deal of mere theory never carried out, she made a delightful reply:

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[38] Beecher, C. E.: *An Appeal to the People*, 265.
[39] Beecher, C. E.: *Religious Training of Children*, 8.

"In my sojourns," she told him, "with the just and the good of all sects in this nation, I feel more and more the sad effects of these fences in the garden of our common Lord, where each stands to point out the weeds in his neighbor's inclosure, instead of searching to remove them from his own. If these barriers could be so lessened that each could enter the other's field to search for the good instead of the evil, how much might be found to reward the search, and improve the humble seekers! All such would probably find that they had more weeds in their own premises than they well knew how to dispose of.''[45]

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[40] *Ibid.*, 333.
[41] *Ibid.*, 332.
[42] *Ibid.*, 356.
[43] *Ibid.*, 380.
[44] *Ibid.*, 382–383.

Miss Beecher makes clear in the book her fitness to discuss these weighty matters. She explains her peculiar qualifications as follows:

''I was not by natural taste a metaphysician or a theologian, but quite the reverse. All through my youth, however, I was accustomed to hear discussions, and my father's social nature sought my sympathy in all his theological debates. Then sorrow came and cut off the hopes of this life, and drove me to seek for religious consolation amid the stern teachings of New England theology, where it could not be found by me.

''Then I became an educator, striving only to qualify myself for its sacred duties, and studying nothing but with this as the chief end. Thus I have been led to these investigations simply as a practical matter, bearing on my daily duties as an educator.

''When I come to questions demanding learned research far beyond my reach, or when I find the knowledge needed hid in the Greek and Hebrew, am I then helpless? Not at all. On the contrary, I think I am better situated than any learned men, or metaphysicians, or theologians, who make these sciences their chief pursuit. Do I want to know anything in Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, or Arabic? I have a brother-in-law under the same roof, who is learned in these, and is pleased to give his aid. In a very short time, I learn from him what are the diverse interpretations, and what are the arguments for each, and I then do not take his opinion, but judge for myself. So, on questions of mental science, I have another brother who has made this his specialty, and who in a short time can point out the books, or can give me an outline furnishing the arguments pro and con on any disputed question. In theology, also, I have for forty years been hearing and reading with my father and brothers, and all with a practical aim.

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[45] *Ibid.*, 314.

"Now it is clear that, having the ordinary common sense of mankind, I have a better chance than any learned men, any metaphysicians, any theologians, to come to correct conclusions, and for these reasons: I belong to no party; I have no restraints of synods, presbyteries; no parish, no theological school, no college, no newspaper, no magazine, that would be injured by my change of opinions. Where are the learned theologians and metaphysicians, the editors, or the clergymen who are as free from such biasing influence as I am"?[46]

She was, moreover, convinced that her theories were entirely original and that they had so far remained unrefuted. No theologian of any sect or school had made any attempt to meet her arguments but had maintained a respectful silence.[47] Moreover, editors refused to surrender their columns to controversial discussions of the subject, one replying to her request, that he had promised his orthodox friends that he would not needlessly introduce heresy into his paper, and that the greatest of all heresies was common sense. Another gave his opinion that all theologians were united in the determination that she should not be permitted to start public discussions of her theories. She therefore concluded that the most profound and acute theologians of the country had relinquished the idea of attempting any farther defense of the Augustinian dogma.[48]

The *Christian Examiner*, which had spoken well of her *Common Sense* of 1857, was now equally congratulatory in discussing all three of her most recent publications on this theme. "We are glad," it said, "to find a writer who is not an ecclesiastic discussing theological questions with earnestness and vigor. We are glad all the more that the writer is a woman. It is some guarantee that the discussion will not proceed in the ruts of tradition, and that the theology of the pulpit, the divinity schools and ministerial conventions, is to be ventilated and humanized."[49] The reviewer points out, to be sure, Miss Beecher's errors, stating among other things that her system is not original, but displays rather many features of Pelagianism, but on the whole he is quite commendatory.

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[46] *Ibid.*, 273–274.
[47] *Ibid.*, 170.
[48] Beecher, C. E.: *Appeal to the People*, 313–314.
[49] *Christian Examiner*, LXXVII, 301.

Whether Catharine's theories were original or not does not detract from the importance of her pronouncement of them. She of all the Beechers, original and independent though they were, dared publicly defy the religion of her fathers, and with her, in her exodus from the orthodox church, went her sister Harriet.[50] Catharine was fired with the zeal of the reformer, hence no fear of censure, ridicule or opposition stayed her hand. Moreover, behind these writings, as behind all her actions of the last half century of her life, was the single purpose of training woman for her profession. In the way of effectively performing this were the doctrines of Calvinistic theology. They were, then, simply one more obstacle to be removed before the attainment of her purpose was possible.

Catharine Beecher's writings on educational topics were voluminous, and varied as to subject-matter, but a unity of purpose threads them all like pearls on a single string. According to her often reiterated statement and belief, woman has a distinctive profession, embracing the three departments of teaching, health and domestic economy, and Miss Beecher's life history was one systematic and comprehensive effort, absorbing all her thoughts, her time and her income, toward rendering this profession honorable and remunerative. To this end her books, articles and addresses were written: on female education, that the intellectual training to fit woman to teach might be bettered; on physiology and health, to fit her to be a nurse of infancy and the sick; and on domestic economy, to train her to be a good housekeeper. Although 1829 was the year of Miss Beecher's first widely-noticed expression of her views, as early as 1827, in an article on "Female Education," written for the *American Journal of Education,* [51] she indicates her leaning toward professional education of girls. At this time she quoted approvingly Hannah More's statement: "the chief end to be pursued in cultivating the understanding of women is to fit them for the practical purposes of life." Miss Beecher added to the statement however, another: "Knowledge, when it can be obtained without the sacrifice of higher duties, is as valuable to a woman as to a man."[52] She then followed it with this suggestion: "If the public sentiment has advanced so much on the subject of female culture that a course of study very similar to that pursued by young men in our public institutions, is demanded for young ladies of the higher circles, should not the public afford facilities somewhat similar for accomplishing it?"[53] By this she meant endowed institutions, well supplied with the necessary facilities for instruction, regular courses of study and division of labor among the faculty members.[54]

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[50] Stowe, Charles: *Harriet Beecher Stowe.*

[51] II, 219–223.

In 1829, Catharine Beecher published her *Suggestions Respecting Improvements in Education* which announced clearly for the first time her conception of the practical education for girls referred to in her article of 1827.

"Neither mothers nor teachers," she writes, "have ever been properly educated for their profession. What is the profession of woman? Is it not to form immortal minds, and to watch, to nurse, and to rear the bodily system, so fearfully and wonderfully made, and upon the order and regulation of which, the health and well-being of the mind so greatly depends? But let most of our sex upon whom these arduous duties devolve, be asked: have you ever devoted any time and study, in the course of your education, to any preparation for these duties? Have you been taught anything of the structure, the nature, and the laws of the body, which you inhabit? . . . Perhaps almost every voice would respond, no; we have attended to almost everything more than to this; we have been taught more concerning the structure of the earth, the laws of the heavenly bodies, the habits and formation of plants, the philosophy of language, more of almost anything, than the structure of the human frame and the laws of health and reason . . . and thus it appears that tho' it is woman's express business to rear the body, and form the mind, there is scarcely any thing to which her attention has been less directed."[55] "Another defect in regard to female education is inattention to those habits and employments which relate to a woman's domestic pursuits. There was a time when the only objects of woman's education seemed to be, to prepare her for an active, economical and accomplished housewife, and no intellectual refinement or erudition was esteemed of any value, but rather a disadvantage. Mankind, perhaps, are now urging to the other extreme; and in regarding the intellect are beginning to overlook the future duties and employments of domestic life. It is true a well cultivated and well regulated mind is the best preparative for such duties, but it is not the only one. A woman needs to form habits of method, regularity, order, and economy in youth, or she probably will not be prepared for the proper discharge of future duties. The comfort and respectability of every family depends upon the existence of these qualities in that female mind, which directs its domestic arrangements, and the habits of her who fulfills such duties, are usually to a greater or less degree perpetuated in those who fall under her influence and care.''[56]

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[52] *Ibid.*, 221.
[53] *Ibid.* 268.
[54] *Ibid.*, 269.
[55] Beecher, C. E.: *Suggestions*, 7–9.

Here is stated the substance of Catharine Beecher's complaint for the remainder of her life: woman has a threefold profession for which she is not trained; her profession is dishonored. In her last book, *Educational Reminiscences,* (1874) she is still hoping for a curriculum which will fit woman for her ''distinctive duties as housekeeper, wife, mother, and chief educator of the nation's children.''[57]

In Miss Beecher's *Suggestions* are other hopes, which find repeated expression in her later books, some of them to be realized, others not. One of these was her plea for ''Division of Labour'' in schools, by which, in 1829, she apparently meant merely the limitation of a teacher's subjects to one or two, but which later developed into her much-emphasized doctrine of a ''faculty of co-equal teachers.'' Here, too, we find expression of her belief ''that all female institutions . . . ought to be conducted exclusively by females.'' This she always maintained. As for her familiar contention that female schools be endowed, the entire book was written with that very point in mind. It was in an effort to arouse the citizens of Hartford to perpetuate the Hartford Female Seminary that she produced her *Suggestions,* setting forth the current defects in female schools, describing her own school methods, and suggesting the improvements that should be made. She little guessed at this early day, that she would still be making the same plea, a bit wearily perhaps, almost a half century later.

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[56] *Ibid.*, 58.

[57] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences,* 202.

In Miss Beecher's *Suggestions* of 1829, she named as the cause of many of the most serious evils in education, the want of proper schoolbooks. "To prepare proper books for schools," she wrote, "must be a work of time, to be accomplished only by the efforts of superior minds, actively engaged in discovering by experiment the most successful methods of communicating ideas to the young mind. None but a teacher can understand the necessities of immature minds or test the suitableness of plans devised for their supply."[58] Apparently Catharine thought she possessed the necessary qualifications for, among her productions, we find six text-books and in a seventh instance, she contributed to McGuffey's Fourth Reader, in his Eclectic Series. Her first text-books were written while at the Hartford Female Seminary, because none of the existing ones suited her purposes. These were her *Elements of Mental and Moral Philosophy* discussed in a previous section and her *Arithmetic Simplified* published in 1832. In the Preface to her Arithmetic she sets forth the unique advantages of her book, asserting that if a writer cannot sustain such claims, the public are needlessly taxed for an article which is not wanted. The virtues of her book are presented in the following manner:

"The writer . . . has either used, or examined, all the most popular works on arithmetic. The following are the deficiencies, which have been experienced, and which it is the aim of the work to supply . . .

"1. The First difficulty, for which a remedy is here attempted, originates from the fact, that in every school, there is such a variety of age, intellect, and acquisition, that no one book is fitted for them all. . . To remedy this, the following work is divided into Three Parts. The First Part is adapted to the comprehension of young children. The Second Part is fitted to the older classes. The Third Part completes an entire system of arithmetic, containing all that is required of students on entering college.

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[58] Beecher, C. E.: *Suggestions,* 12.

''2. Another difficulty which this arrangement remedies, arises from the fact, in most works of this kind, owing to the length of the various exercises under this head, the pupils lose the general principles they gain in one part before they reach another. . . But in the First Part of this work, in the compass of twenty pages, the pupil gains all the fundamental principles of the science, which in the succeeding parts, are developed in more minute particulars.

''3. To aid in the same object, and to secure other advantages, a new method of classification has been adopted. The chief benefit aimed at, by this new arrangement, is to simplify the science, by leading the pupils to understand, that all the various exercises of arithmetic are included under the same general principles of addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, and reduction. . .

''4. Another difficulty experienced in using some of the most popular works of this kind, has arisen from the fact, that the mental and written exercises have been entirely separate, in some cases being placed in different books, while still

''5. Another defect in teaching this science has arisen from a want of some method of stating and explaining the rationale, of each arithmetical process.''

It was for this book that Professor Olmstead of Yale expressed such a decided preference[59] and it was this book also, that Catharine at one time hoped to make the first of a series, the proceeds of which were to provide funds for the execution of her plans for education in the west.[60]

In 1833, Catharine and Harriet, then principals of the Western Female Institute in Cincinnati, were joint authors of a *Primary Geography for Children, on an improved plan, with Eleven Maps and numerous Engravings.* Since all we know of it is the announcement in the *American Annals of Education* for October, 1833, which tells us that ''This little work combines the plans of induction and comparison'' and that ''Every opportunity is taken to inculcate moral and religious instruction, and . . . the work will be very interesting to children, without cultivating a false taste or gratifying the appetite for the marvelous,'' we are rather in the dark concerning the ''improved plan.''

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[59] See Chapter IV.
[60] See Chapter VI.

In 1837, Miss Beecher aided William H. McGuffy, President of Cincinnati College, with the fourth of his ''Eclectic Reader'' series. In his Preface, he made acknowledgment to her in the following manner: ''in the preparation of the rules, etc., for the present volume, he has had the assistance of a very distinguished Teacher, whose judgment and zeal in promoting the cause of education have often been commended by the American people.'' In addition to the ''rules'' concerned with posture, emphasis and pronunciation, Miss Beecher had two selections of her own in this book,—one ''Henry Martyn and Lord Byron'' and the other ''Chesterfield and Paul,'' both studies in character contrast. What mental indigestion the defenseless victims of these early readers must have had as they struggled with selections on ''intemperance'' and ''death.''

The next year, Catharine published her *Moral Instructor, for Schools and Families: Containing Lessons on the Duties of Life, Arranged for Study and Recitation.* This book was prepared for the Eclectic Series and is heavily freighted with testimonials from ministers and educators.[61] In the Introduction, the author addresses herself to her ''dear young friends'' so: ''There is nothing more interesting to the writer of this book than the happiness of the young. I have spent many years in studying the best ways to make them useful and happy, and I seldom see their fair and smiling faces, without wishing I could do something for their good . . .'' and signs herself ''I am truly your friend.'' The little book is charming although quaint as to content when placed alongside the modern child's book. The young reader is instructed ''on the duty of loving God, on obedience to parents, teachers and the laws,'' on frankness, sincerity, lying, honesty, benevolence, self-denial, magnanimity, industry, economy, cheerfulness, and charity, with information concerning health, food, cleanliness, exercise and disease thrown in for good measure. The chapter on "good manners" is delightful and one is inclined to sigh with envy over the contemplation of an age when such little social courtesies were considered indispensable. "Good manners," Miss Beecher informs her young readers, "are the various methods that polite and refined society employs to save the feelings and to promote the pleasure of others. They consist in avoiding everything in language or conduct that is disrespectful, negligent, or unkind, and in rendering attention to the wants and convenience of others."[62] And if the little Miss of 1840 did not become a model of propriety and virtue, it was certainly not from lack of excellent advice.

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[61] Introduction.

During the years following the relinguishing of active participation in the Western Female Institute (1835), Catharine was busily engaged preparing her *Treatise on Domestic Economy* which was published in 1841. We recall that she had deplored the absence of this study in the education of girls in her *Suggestions* of 1829. Others agreed with her as to its importance. Emma Willard in 1818 wrote: "It is believed that housewifery might be greatly improved, by being taught, not only in practice, but in theory. Why may it not be reduced to a system, as well as other arts?"[63] The Mount Holyoke Seminary required of its pupils domestic labor, but from a different point of view. "It is no part of the design of this seminary," read the Prospectus of 1837, "to teach young ladies domestic work. This branch of education is exceedingly important, but a literary institution is not the place to gain it. Home is the proper place for the daughters of our country to be taught on this subject; and the mother is the appropriate teacher."[64]

In 1841, a Cincinnati newspaper indicates the popular interest in the subject by telling this story: "This question was asked by King James I when a young girl was presented to him, and the person who introduced her, boasted of her proficiency in the ancient languages. 'I can assure your Majesty,' said he, 'that she can both speak and write Latin, Greek and Hebrew.' 'These are rare attainments for a damsel,' said James, 'but pray tell me, can she spin?' "[65] A little later Mrs. Sedgewick had a long article called "The Puzzled Housewife" in a western newspaper, in which she pictured the difficulties of the young wife under frontier conditions with the purpose of advising young girls to learn domestic economy and ended by saying "This domestic knowledge, believe me, dear friends, is the sine qua non."[66] A man expressed the same idea in epigrammatic fashion when he said: "The art of making good bread has more to do with the peace of the world than all the arts of diplomacy."[67]

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[62] Beecher, C. E.: *Moral Instructor*, 153.
[63] Willard, Emma: *Plan for improving Female Education*, 21.
[64] *Prospectus* of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary.

Catharine Beecher wrote her *Treatise on Domestic Economy,* according to her own testimony "because she herself suffered from want of such knowledge, in early life; because others, under her care, suffered from her ignorance; and because many mothers and teachers, especially in reference to matters pertaining to health, [had] so much occasion to sympathize in the regret with which this acknowledgment [was] made."[68] Catharine's contention is, of course, that Domestic Economy should be taught as a branch of study in girls' schools and she gives four reasons for such an introduction:[69] "(1) every young lady will need the knowledge sometime in her life in her own family, (2) she might be placed unexpectedly in some situation where she would be in charge of a family; (3) young ladies will not be given this knowledge at home for a number of reasons; (4) it would make young ladies estimate the dignity and importance of domestic work instead of priding themselves on their ignorance. "But," she writes, "as matters are now conducted, many young ladies know how to make oxygen and hydrogen, and to discuss questions of Philosophy or Political Economy, far better than they know how to make a bed and sweep a room properly; and they can construct a diagram in Geometry, with far more skill than they can make the simplest article of female dress."[70]

So it was to be the function of this book to lighten the dark ignorance of young ladies in respect to these important matters and to encourage their giving serious attention to the study of them. To this end, the Treatise touched on all the phases of the housekeeper's never-ending round of duties, guiding her footsteps from sunrise to bedtime, from the Monday washing to the Saturday baking, setting out to mold her mind as well as her manners, for we find a chapter entitled: "On the Preservation of a good Temper in a Housekeeper."[71] The prospective young wife and mother is instructed on health, food, clothing, cleanliness, exercise, manners, charity, economy, care of domestics and of infants, construction of houses and their care, dressmaking and gardening. Much of the content, though written in 1841 and contrary to the accepted custom of that day, is common knowledge in 1931. Miss Beecher advised against "the abundant variety . . . usually met at the tables of almost all classes"[72] against excessive use of condiments, and tea and coffee. Applying her favorite "Common Sense" she wrote: "But there is little probability that the present generation will make so decided a change in their habits as to give up these beverages; and the subject is presented rather in reference to forming habits of children."[73] Now, two generations later, the value of such advice seems to be recognized, though much yet remains to be accomplished.[74]

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[65] *Cincinnati Weekly Chronicle,* June 5, 1841.
[66] *Cincinnati Daily Gazette,* August 12, 1843.
[67] Gray, Alonzo: *An Address on Female Education,* 1854.
[68] Preface, vii.
[69] Beecher, C. E.: *Domestic Economy,* chapter IV.
[70] *Ibid.,* 67, 1846 ed.

In the matter of dress, Miss Beecher decried the prevailing styles as did many others, though she never went to the extremes of the advocates of the "Bloomer Costume." Her standard was: "Any mode of dress, not suited to the employment, the age, the season, or the means of the wearer, is in bad taste."[75] She derided the foolish women who risked their health and lives to secure some resemblance to the deformities of the human frame, represented by the wasp-like figures held up as models of excellence. "The folly of the Chinese belle," she stated, "who totters on two useless deformities, is nothing compared to that of the American belle, who impedes all the internal organs in the discharge of their functions, that she may have a slender waist."[76]

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[71] *Ibid.*, XIII.
[72] *Ibid.*, 95, 1846 ed.
[73] *Ibid.*, 109, 1846 ed.
[74] *Science News Letter*, January 3, 1931, 2.
[75] Beecher, C. E.: *Domestic Economy*, 117, 1846 ed.
[76] *Ibid.*, 116, 1846 ed.

She deplored the want of exercise, "Inducing softness in the bones, weakness in the muscles, inactivity in the digestive organs, and general debility in the nervous system."[77]

Miss Beecher recommended allowances for young girls, that they might learn systematic economy, believing that "the art of system and economy can no more come by intuition, than the art of watchmaking or bookkeeping."[78] The economical housewife, however, was warned of making "penurious savings," by "getting the poor to work as cheap as possible." An invariable maxim, in dealing with the poor, Miss Beecher believed, was, "liberal prices and prompt payment."[79]

The question of mental hygiene, so much discussed at the present time, was considered by Catharine Beecher in her *Domestic Economy.* She did not, however, talk of complexes or psychoses, but named as the "first cause" of much of the mental disease and suffering a want of proper supply of duly oxygenized blood. The deficiency was due, obviously to sleeping in close rooms, and remaining in crowded or badly ventilated apartments. While Catharine's assignment of cause and effect in this particular might not stand in the light of more recent data, the lesson was well timed, for the era was that of the substitution of closed stoves for the open fire-place,—a substitution which combined an absence of ventilation with an increase of heat. This matter of the necessity of pure air was a favorite subject with Miss Beecher for many years.

At the time Catharine was writing her *Domestic Economy,* she was developing her plans for the transfer of teachers from the east to the west. It is not surprising, therefore, to find her referring to the project which was beginning to absorb all her thoughts. And, of course, no book of Catharine Beecher's would be complete without a plea for equality of educational opportunity for her sex. Like the regular blows of a hammer, come her repeated appeals for woman's right to an adequate preparation for her profession. So in 1841, she writes:

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[77] *Ibid.,* 128, 1846 ed.
[78] *Ibid.,* 188, 1846, ed.
[79] *Ibid.,* 190, 1846 ed.

"... Are not the most responsible of all duties committed to the care of woman? Is it not her profession to take care of mind, body and soul? And that, too, at the most critical of all periods of existence? And is it not as much a matter of public concern, that she should be properly qualified for her duties, as that ministers, lawyers, and physicians, should be prepared for theirs? And is it not as important to endow institutions that shall make a superior education accessible to all classes, for females, as much as for the other sex? And is it not equally important, that institutions for females be under the supervision of intelligent and responsible trustees, whose duty it shall be to secure a uniform and appropriate education for one sex as much as for the other?[80]

The *Domestic Economy* and its sequel the *Domestic Receipt Book* proved exceedingly popular, and went through many editions. The first-named was made a part of the Massachusetts School Library.[81] The wide area over which the influence of these books was felt was largely due to the fact that the agents of the Jacksonville Committee for furthering popular education gained their support by the sale of the books,[82] and that copies of the work to the value of $100 were presented to the Illinois Ladies Education Society at Jacksonville and the same amount to the teachers of the Board of National Popular Education. By 1851, at which time Miss Beecher made a report of her income from the books, she had received from the publishers $4226.44 in books and money.[83] That the books had a salutary effect is indicated by the following extract from a letter written by the teacher doing her bit in one of the newly-settled western states:

"I have read your Domestic Economy through to the family, one chapter a day. They like it, and have adopted some of your suggestions in regard both to order and to health. They used to drink coffee three times a day, now they use it only once a day. Their bread used to be heavy and half-baked, but I made yeast by the receipt in your book, and thus made some good bread. They were much pleased with it, and I have made such ever since.''[84]

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[80] *Ibid.*, 30, 1841 ed.
[81] Beecher, C. E.: *The American Woman's Home*, 15, 1869 ed.
[82] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy*, 135.
[83] *Ibid.*, Appendix, 250–251.

The *Domestic Economy* was such a success that in 1870 Catharine and her sister, Harriet Beecher Stowe, published *The American Woman's Home or Principles of Domestic Science,* which was practically an enlarged edition of the earlier book with some quotations from Mrs. Stowe's *House and Home Papers* and some material that was entirely new. The same topics were discussed as in the first *Domestic Economy,* with additional evidence gleaned through the intervening years. Again, in 1873, J. B. Ford and Company published *The New Housekeeper's Mannual* and *The Handy Cook Book* bound together and Harper and Brothers brought out *Miss Beecher's Housekeeper and Healthkeeper,* both of which were practically identical with the 1870 publication.

Miss Beecher's aim, and it was well met, we feel, was to design a complete encyclopedia of all that relates to a woman's duties as housekeeper, wife, mother and nurse.[85] At the end of the *Principles of Domestic Science* of 1870 is an ''Address of the Senior Author to the Female Teachers of her Country'' which begins: ''My Honored and Dear Friends: I address you somewhat as did 'Paul the aged,' when, near the close of a life of toil and suffering, he wrote exultingly to his younger co-laborers, 'I have fought a good fight.' It is now nearly half a century since I entered the field where you are now toiling, and the more I have labored the more have I rejoiced in the grandeur of our calling and its glorious rewards.''[86] She proceeded then to deplore the lack of training of woman for her profession; the persistence with which women of wealth endowed colleges for men instead of those for their own sex and the activities of those who would thrust on woman the ballot. She described her ideal of a Woman's University and emphasized nursing as a profession for women.

In 1842, following closely on the heels of her *Domestic Economy,* and somewhat related to it in spirit, came Catharine

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[84] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences,* 123.
[85] Beecher, C. E.: *Housekeeper and Healthkeeper,* 15.
[86] Beecher, C. E.: *Principles of Domestic Science,* 347.

Beecher's *Letters to Persons Engaged in Domestic Service.* This was, indeed, a novel field and no one more than Catharine realized the difficulty involved in addressing a class who were probably not qualified to read and profit by her well-considered counsel. With this difficulty in mind, Miss Beecher addressed herself in the Preface "To American Ladies" in the following fashion:

"My Countrywomen:

"Will you aid me in an attempt to benefit a most useful, a most important and yet a much neglected portion of your fellow citizens? I can accomplish little without your aid, with it, I trust much may be done.

"Have you ever heard any instructions from the pulpit addressed to the class for whom I now write? Have you ever read a printed sermon, or a tract suited and designed to instruct Americans of this class, on the topics presented in this book? Have you not felt how important it is that this class, who have so much influence on domestic enjoyment and on the character of children, should be properly instructed in the duties of their station, and yet how difficult it is to address them acceptably, or to find books that answer for this purpose?

"These things have been urged on my attention by benevolent ladies, who have felt these difficulties, and who complain that, while those they hire can find books enough which treat on the duties of their employer, they seldom find instructions in regard to the peculiar duties of their own station. I have made an attempt to remedy this deficiency, so far as my ability extends. But a great difficulty meets me. The persons for whom I write, have few opportunities to know what issues from the press, and seldom buy books. It is others, who, from a spirit of philanthropy and benevolence, must procure such advantages for them, or they will seldom be secured. I would, therefore, appeal to all benevolent and Christian ladies whose eye may rest on this page, and ask if each will not secure the reading of this book to at least one of those for whom it is written. If housekeepers will supply those they hire, if travellers and visitors will use this, to present as a token of good will to those who serve them, where they temporarily sojourn, if on New Years and Christmas, this may be remembered as a suitable present to those who do so much to aid on festive occasions, then, if this book is fit for the end designed, there will be many who will be joined, in the best of all fellowship, with this friend and countrywoman. The Author.''

The eighteen letters of which the book is composed contain advice on the various topics of manners, visiting, company, religion, meetings, trials of domestics and their remedies, economy, health, care of children, dress and language, together with the importance of raising the character of this useful sphere of necessary service. The language is simple and direct and general principles are made clear by the use of illustrative stories. One of Miss Beecher's firmly-held ideas is illustrated in the seventh and eighth letters in which she presents ''Reasons why the station of a domestic is a desirable one, and superior to that of a sempstress, a shop girl, or a factory girl'' and ''The importance of raising the respectability of the station of a domestic in public estimation and the mode by which it can be done.'' Commendable as was this attempt of Miss Beecher's, it was probably not productive of much good, for she continues for some years to complain of the incompetency of the only available domestics.

To that phase of woman's profession which had to do with training the mind of youth, most of Miss Beecher's contributions were actions rather than books. It was to this end that she devoted her efforts from the early 1830's until 1874, in the attempt to transfer women teachers from New England to schoolless spots in the newer states; and, later, in the project of establishing schools for girls in the larger cities of these younger communities. However, her pen was very busily playing the indispensable rôle of giving first aid to these activities. In 1835 came her *Essay on the Education of Female Teachers,* written at the solicitation of the American Lyceum. The Lyceum, the product of the mind of Josiah Holbrook, had been organized as a national institution on May 4, 1931, in New York. Article II of its Constitution named the objects as: ''advancement of education, especially common schools, and the general diffusion of knowledge.''[87] During the year following its organization, the Executive Committee invited a number of prominent persons to prepare addresses for the next meeting and among these was Miss Beecher. Her essay did not appear, however, until the meeting of May 6, 1835;[88] but, when it did come, it created a great impression. Following somewhat the prototype of all her educational writing, this essay urges ''rendering female institutions permanent in their existence'' and the institution of a ''regular and systematic course of instruction,'' which will fit a woman for her ''peculiar duties.'' Then she asks: ''What is the most important and peculiar duty of the female sex?'' and answers: ''It is the physical, intellectual, and moral education of children. It is the care of the health, and the formation of the character, of the future citizens of this great nation.''[89]

Nowhere in her writings does Catharine Beecher better justify her position among the most advanced thinkers of her age than in this essay. Against the memoriter philosophy most commonly exemplified, she protests in no uncertain tones:

''School is generally considered as a place where children are sent, not to form their habits, opinions, and character, but simply to learn from books. And yet, whatever may be the opinion of teachers and parents, children do, to a very great extent, form their character under the influences bearing upon them at school. . . . The mere committing to memory of the facts contained in books, is but a small portion of education.''[90] In behalf of moral education, she is equally emphatic: ''it may be set down as one of the current truisms of society, that the formation of the moral and religious principles and habits is the most important part of education, even in reference to this life alone.''[91]

Ninety-six years ago, Catharine Beecher, with prophetic eye, saw this picture: ''In regard to education, the world is making experiments, such as were never made before. Man is demanding disenthralment, alike from physical force, and intellectual slavery; and, by a slow and secret process, one nation after another is advancing in a sure, though silent progress. Man is bursting the chains of slavery and the bonds of intellectual subserviency, and is learning to think, and reason, and act for himself, and the great crisis is hastening on, when it shall be decided whether disenthralled intellect and liberty shall voluntarily submit to the laws of virtue and of Heaven, or run wild to insubordination, anarchy and crime. The great question pending before the world is simply this: Are liberty and intelligence, without the restraints of a moral and religious education, a blessing or a curse''?[92] What answer is the twentieth century to make to this question?

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[87] *Barnard's Am. Journal of Ed.*, XIV, 538.
[88] *Ibid.*, 547.
[89] *An Essay on the Education of Female Teachers*, 5.
[90] *Ibid.*, 6–7.
[91] *Ibid.*, 10.

In her essay of 1835, Catharine made her first public presentation of her budding plans for the ignorant children of the west. She told her appalling story of a million and a half children without schools and the ninety thousand teachers who would immediately be required to save them from permanent ignorance and vice and set forth her plans for the establishment of institutions for the education of female teachers. The eagerness of eastern women to take up the missionary work is expressed by Catharine as she quotes their appeal:

''Give us the opportunity of aiding to preserve the interests and institutions of our country. Send us to the thousands of destitute children whom we should rejoice to train up in virtue, and prepare for Heaven. We relinquish the pursuit of wealth, the paths of public honor and the strife for patronage and power; give us the humble, sacred, delightful pleasure of benevolence. While on earth, we seek no plaudits of fame, and rear no fabrics of splendor and renown; while, like the little insects that build beneath the waters, we toil unnoticed and unknown, give us the pleasing consciousness that we are silently raising monuments of beauty and glory, that shall stand in the light of Heaven through everlasting years.''[93]

The Lyceum adopted a resolution to the effect that the subject of female education deserves more attention than it has yet received, that the establishment and liberal endowment of female seminaries of a high order, especially for the education of female teachers, is highly deserving of the benefactions of the intelligent and wealthy of the community, as well as of legislative patronage, and recommending the extended circulation of Miss Beecher's essay.[94] The Executive Committee of the American Lyceum, desirous of having Miss Beecher's essay extensively known, particularly among those of her sex, invited a meeting of ladies in New York on the 29th of April. Here the paper was read, and such was the interest excited, that measures were immediately taken to secure the publication of several thousand copies, by subscription.[95] The *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* devoted two columns to a review of the essay and the Lyceum's action.[96] William Woodbridge said: "We rejoice, both in the appearance of the essay, and in the interest it has excited, and we trust it will prove the means of rousing a new spirit on this subject."[97]

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[92] *Ibid.*, 14.

[93] *Ibid.*, 21.

In 1845, came Catharine Beecher's address entitled *American Women: Will you save your Country* which appeared shortly in book form as *The Duty of American Women to their Country.* This was a powerful appeal to American women to save the country from impending devastations due to the increasing number of children who were growing up destitute of the influence of schools or teachers. In vehement language, Miss Beecher describes in detail the horrors of mob-ridden France during the Reign of Terror. In case her readers should quiet their aroused fear with the sedative thought that such cruelty and rage could never appear among them, she called before their mind's eye recent mob-activities in Baltimore, New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati. The country had only been saved from such wide-sweeping horrors as had desolated France, because we had such a large body of educated citizens. "Nothing," she wrote, impressively, "can preserve this nation from such scenes but perpetuating this preponderance of intelligence and virtue. This is our only safeguard.''[98] More specifically, of course, the women appealed to were to volunteer for teaching service in the west or to aid others who wished to do so by gifts of money to the cause. The immediate effectiveness of these appeals we have discussed elsewhere.

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[94] Barnard's *Am. Journal of Ed.*, XIV, 548.
[95] Beecher, C. E.: *Essay on Education*, 2.
[96] *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, June 9, 1835.
[97] *American Annals of Ed.*, V, 275.

The next year, 1846, Miss Beecher wrote her address called *The Evils Suffered by American Womanhood and American Children: The Causes and the Remedy* which was presented to meetings of ladies in Cincinnati, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and other cities by her brother Thomas. We recall that these meetings and the address were for the purpose of raising funds to employ an agent to head the enterprise of schools and teachers for the west, that the meetings were financially successful and that Governor Slade became the agent. This address contained the same basic facts as the preceding appeal,—destitution of western children and needs of American women, both to be supplied by the same means. In the same volume with this address, when it was published in 1846, was one ''to the Protestant Clergy of the United States'' in which Miss Beecher asked these learned gentlemen to explain why Protestant schools for females could not be endowed and sustained while corresponding Catholic institutions were always successful? The incentive for this inquiry was doubtless the heavy disappointment which had followed the failure of the Western Female Institute for which she had been unable to raise the necessary endowment. A Catholic female institution took its place for which, she said, more than $20,000 had been paid and not long after, a Catholic Nunnery and school were established, at an outlay of more than $30,000. Her conclusions are these: ''the clergy and leaders of the Catholic Church understand the importance and efficiency of employing female talent and benevolence in promoting their aims, while the Protestant Churches have yet to learn this path of wisdom. The Catholic Clergy exert their entire influence in creating a public sentiment that sustains, and even stimulates women to consecrate their time and talents to benevolent enterprises. The Protestant Clergy have as yet but very imperfectly exerted their influence to create any such public sentiment.''[99] This was probably the beginning of Catharine's later, well-developed view that the prevailing religious concepts were the cause of her various educational failures.

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[98] Beecher, C. E.: *Ed. Reminiscences*, 235.

We have reviewed Catharine Beecher's literary efforts in two fields of the three assigned by her to women: teaching and home-making. The third related to woman's duty in procuring and guarding health. To assist in the preparation for this duty, Catharine wrote her *Letters to the People on Health and Happiness* (1855) and her *Physiology and Calisthenics* (1856). In the former, the plan was outlined as follows: first, a description of certain organs of the human body most important to health and happiness, and which are most injured and abused by the American people; second, the proper treatment of these organs in order to secure the most perfect health and physical happiness; third, various methods in which these organs are most frequently injured; fourth, the many evil results of such abuse and mismanagement; and fifth, the remedies for these evils.

In the first letter Miss Beecher says: ``It is a very small book; it will not take over two or three hours to read it. I beseech you, for your own sake, for the sake of all you love best, to read the whole.''[100] In the same part, which treats of ``Laws of Health and Happiness'' Miss Beecher displays her favorite attribute—``Common Sense''—. One wonders at the necessity for stating such self-evident truths and then recalls that the prevailing ill-health was indisputable proof that they were not ``self-evident.'' Such laws as ``Take care that the stomach has food of a proper kind and quality, and that the lungs are fully supplied with cool and pure air''; ``Take care that the body has sufficient exercise in pure air every day''; ``Take care that the spine shall never habitually be kept out of its natural position either when awake or asleep'' were some of the admonitions. In discussing food values and uses, Miss Beecher did not, it is true, speak of ``calories'' or ``diets'' but she did distinguish ``heat-forming'' from ``flesh-forming'' and ``stimulating'' from ``nourishing'' foods. She suggested variety, so that all the elements needed to nourish the body might be furnished; she advised change of food with temperature and season and with age, temperament and occupation. These are modern criteria for choosing a diet.

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[99] Beecher, C. E.: *The Evils Suffered by American Womanhood and American Children*, 33.

[100] Beecher, C. E.: *Letters to the People on Health and Happiness*, 11.

In Part Third where abuses of the bodily organs are laid down for inspection, Miss Beecher names a lengthy list of causes of the inferior health of the generation of the day,—wrong food, lack of sufficient air and exercise, foolish dress, wrong posture, being the principle ones described. In each case, her point is excellently made with illustration and scientific fact. To give strength to her arguments, she tells the story of her own search for health and to still further prove the necessity for immediate remedial and preventive measures, she quotes statistics of female health gathered through personal contact and through facts contributed by friends. The method she adopted was to ask each lady she met to write the initials of ten of the married ladies with whom she was best acquainted in her place of residence and to write beside each her impression of the lady's health.

The result of much inquiry in this fashion left Miss Beecher with the conclusion that a perfectly sound, healthy, vigorous woman was the rarest of all human specimens.[101] "What is to be done"? she asks in Letter Twenty-Third, and answers: pure air and ventilation as the first and most important requisite, healthful exercise and amusement, and the correct selection of diet and drink. She knew well her fellow-citizens. "To change essentially," she writes, "the habits, customs, and daily practices of a whole nation, in regard to exercise, ventilation, food, drink, amusements, medical treatment, and modes of training the young, certainly is a most Herculean undertaking; and yet nothing less than this will at all meet the case. But then the American people never fail in any thing they choose to undertake, and they would feel a pride and pleasure in accomplishing a wonderful and beneficient change, and one, too, that would in all respects set them at the head of the human race." Obviously, she was entirely correct.

The *Letters to the People on Health and Happiness* were followed by the *Physiology and Calisthenics.* This book differed little from its predecessor except that the physiology was discussed in more detail and questions in the text were placed at the bottom of each page. The ''Laws of Health and Happiness'' and the ''Abuses and Remedies'' were presented in nearly identical fashion with the earlier book. In the 1856 book, however, was included a system of calisthenic exercises suitable for schools, families and health establishments. To give force to her arguments in favor of these exercises, Miss Beecher quotes Galen, the celebrated ancient physician, Lord Bacon, Montaigne, Plato, and Rousseau. The exercises themselves are of the type now thoroughly familiar to every school boy and girl although apparatus work of a very limited sort was recommended purely to cure deformities and certain diseases. Of Miss Beecher's efforts to spread this gospel through the public schools, we shall speak elsewhere.

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[101] *Ibid.*, 121–133.

In addition to Catharine Beecher's books regarding the various phases of woman's peculiar profession, she was constantly expressing her views on this subject through the magazines. In November, 1852, she wrote of ''Woman's Profession'' in *Godey's Lady's Book* telling the familiar story of inferior schools and ending with her characteristic remark that ''the evils incident to the lot of woman arise from the fact that her profession is not made honorable.[102] In the years 1864, 1865, 1866 and 1867, Miss Beecher wrote four articles for Harpers, three of which formed a series, with woman's profession again as the subject. In November of 1864 appeared ''Woman's Profession Dishonored,''[103] with its arguments to show the importance of woman's appointed work and its mournful facts regarding the lack of any preparation for it and the stigma attached to it.

''Almost every method,'' she writes, ''that can be devised to make woman's work vulgar, and disagreeable, and disgraceful has been employed, till now the word 'lady' signifies a woman that never has done any of the proper work of a woman. . . Meantime, while woman's proper business is thus disgraced and avoided, all the excitements of praise, honor, competition, and emolument are given to book-learning and accomplishments. The little girl who used to be rewarded at school for sewing neatly, and praised when she had made a whole shirt for her father, now is rewarded and praised only for geography, grammar, and arithmetic. . . . What is to become of the multitudes of women,'' she asked, ''who can not have homes of their own, while it is disgraceful to do the healthful work that should bring them as honored and well-paid helpers into the homes of others"?

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[102] *Godey's Lady's Book*, XLV, 484.

[103] *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XXIX, 766.

In November of 1865[104] came the answer. Woman's Profession was to be redeemed from dishonor by the provision of endowed institutions to sustain women of high culture to study, practice, and teach properly all the branches included in woman's profession. When one institution so endowed should be established in each large city and town, there would be created a liberal profession for highly-cultivated women suited to their nature, and meeting the wants of those who were unmarried or widowed; such a profession as their fathers and brothers enjoyed as professors in educating men. Moreover, in order to secure the desired redemption, it was also necessary that houses be built on Christian principles with women of wealth and culture themselves working and training their children to work, instead of having ignorant foreigners to ruin their food in a filthy kitchen and ruin their children in the nursery. One aim of her article, Miss Beecher stated, was to attract the notice of conscientious persons commencing the family state with means sufficient for a much more elaborate establishment than the one she proceeded to describe. ''Many such,'' she wrote, ''really believe thmselves the followers of Christ who have seldom practiced that economy which denies self to increase the advantages of the poor, especially in deciding on the style of living they adopt. Most wealthy persons provide houses, equipage, servants, and expenditures that demand most of their income, while the waste in their kitchens alone would, by careful economy, such as we see in France, feed another whole family.''

In the third of this series of articles,[105] Miss Beecher describes ''A Christian Neighborhood.'' Her missionary spirit is turned this time to the ''poor rich'' to whom she quotes 2 Cor. v. 10—

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[104] *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XXXI, 710.

[105] *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, April, 1869, XXXIV, 573.

"How hardly shall they that have riches enter the kingdom of heaven." She suggests an ideal community: houses all designed to perform domestic labor in an economical, neat and tasteful manner, and all supplied with pure air both by day and night. Here also might be placed a common laundry, a bake house, and stables for all desiring economy of time, labor and money in these directions. Of course, orphans were to be raised and the poor trained to some useful profession. This neighborhood would be peculiar in these respects: Each family would be entirely independent, and yet would agree to act on the same general plan as far as it met their own views, and no farther. But all would be so congenial in taste and culture, and so united in the great object of carrying out practically the self-denying example of Christ, as to secure the main purpose designed—a truly Christian neighborhood.

A similar plea for Christian homes combined with healthful ones was contained in her article of May 1866,[106] under the title: "The American People Starved and Poisoned." It is quite likely that with this dramatic opening, she secured adequate attention for her subsequent discussion of ventilation and heating of houses and the Christian attitude which the rich should adopt. She began thus:

"Yes; it is even so! Not only our brave soldiers in Southern prisons have been starved and poisoned by hundreds and thousands, but the whole American people are now encountering the same evils, and thousands upon thousands are destined to end a suffering life by this same miserable death. And this murderous operation is perpetrated daily and nightly, in our parlors, our bedrooms, our kitchens, our school rooms, and even our churches are no asylum from this barbarity. Nor can we escape by our railroads, for even there the same dreadful work is going on."

Among Catharine Beecher's educational writings, we find two books which are almost purely narrative in form. The first of these is her *True Remedy for the Wrongs of Woman, with a history of an enterprise having that for its object,* published in 1851, and her *Educational Reminiscences* of 1874. As the avowed purpose of the former book is to present views in opposition to the contemporary Woman's Rights Party, we shall reserve a discussion of it for another chapter and simply mention here that it describes in considerable detail her educational activities from 1823 until 1851, including the period of the schools at Hartford, Cincinnati, Burlington, Milwaukee and Quincy. It is written in the form of letters to Mrs. Stowe, so that the style may be familiar and the same easy flow of thought and language be preserved as would be natural in private, unrestrained and earnest conversation.

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[106] *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* XXXII, 762.

The *Reminiscences* of 1874 are much milder in tone than the *True Remedy* of twenty years before, or of any of Miss Beecher's writings, for that matter. Accustomed, as one has become, to emphatic, decided, keen-edged phrases, so characteristic of her, one is surprised at their absence, until the explanation offers itself that at seventy-four the world is viewed with a greater measure of placidity and interpreted by an increasingly gentle philosophy. Not that the issues of the day had lost their hold on Miss Beecher's mind. Her awareness of them as unsolved problems is indicated in her Introduction, where she says:

"There are special reasons, at this time, for directing public attention to the topics in this work. The subject of Woman's Rights and Wrongs is now agitating communities all over the nation, sustained by wide-spread organizations of energetic, intelligent, and conscientious men and women, many of them in high positions of influence. The question of Woman's admission to men's colleges and professional schools is exciting much discussion. The subject of woman's health, as connected with methods of education, is involving many questions of difficulty and delicacy. The question as to how far the supervision and control of public schools and higher institutions of her own sex should be committed to women equally with men is another topic that is increasing in public interest and attention."[107]

Catharine Beecher felt that a history of her educational experiences over the half century she had devoted to the higher education of woman, including as it did a narrative of serious mistakes as well as of successes, would serve both as needed warning and cheering encouragement to those who were commencing similar efforts. So she tells of her own early training, of the Hartford Female Seminary and of the Western Female Institute, of Governor Slade and the Board of National Popular Education, and of Milwaukee Female College and the American Woman's Educational Association. The defections of Governor Slade, the irritation caused by the Trustees of the Milwaukee College, the lack of faith of the Quincy Trustees, the disappointments at Burlington,—all these which caused so much pain at the time they occurred, are now forgotten or considered unimportant. Her mind passes over the past events, only that she may gain wisdom to meet the new. Her book ends on a note of inquiry. In the last chapter, on "Queries and Suggestions," she presents some untried methods for the consideration and discussion of the leaders in educational operations.

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[107] Beecher, C. E.: *Ed. Reminiscences*, 243.

As the leading aim of educational institutions should be "to train each mind for the higher or lower sphere for which its natural tastes and abilities are best adapted and to develop equally every bodily and mental faculty so as to secure a well-balanced mind in a healthful body,"[108] she asks "is it not the case that institutions for the training of the higher grades of mind have been unduly multiplied, while appropriate advantages for the humbler classes have been neglected, especially in the proper training of woman"?[109]

The most important and influential of all our educational institutions is that of the family, so no educational question is of such vital importance as the appropriate education of woman for the duties of the family state.[110] "It appears by the records of other ages and nations that it is not by civil laws and penalties but by the religious training of the family that temperance, prosperity, health and long life are best secured."[111]

"It is conceded by all that the educated vicious are more dangerous than the ignorant, and that the safety of our republic depends more on moral and religious training than on intellectual. And yet we are now discussing whether the Bible shall be ejected from our public schools, while leading editors of religious papers and clergymen are advocating this measure! . . . School Instruction in Morality and Religious Principles may be given without trenching upon doctrinal or debatable grounds.''[112]

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[108] Beecher, C. E.: *Ed. Reminiscences,* 239.
[109] *Ibid.,* 241.
[110] *Ibid.,* 241–242.
[111] *Ibid.,* 248.

''In none of our educational institutions have there been consistent and successful methods maintained to form Habits of System, Order and Punctuality.''[113]

Lastly, she agrees with the views of prominent educators on ''what is wrong with the schools'' and laments the want of scientific, practical training, memoriter methods of study and large classes, and suggests as one good plan to be tried the ''work-school'' plan which had had some success in England.[114] With these progressive ideas and the admonition to American women to organize for efficient benevolence, the book ends.

While practically all of Catharine Beecher's writings were directed toward the one end already discussed, there were a very few which had some other purpose. One of these was *The Biographical Remains of Rev. George Beecher,* published in 1844. The Beechers had just sustained the shock of the sudden death of this brother, shot accidentally in his own garden, and Catharine, who had been visiting there at the time of the tragedy, undertook to bring his life and religious services before the world. The other of Catharine's non-educational books was one published in 1850 called *Truth Stranger Than Fiction, or a Narrative of Recent Transactions Involving Inquiries in Regard to the Rules of Honor, Truth and Justice, which Obtain in a Distinguished American University.* This book was written in the defense of Delia Bacon, who had been associated with Catharine in her enterprise for the West and was now, according to Miss Beecher, the victim of a wicked conspiracy, which impaired her reputation and exposed her to intolerable sufferings. Said Miss Beecher with her customary emphasis: ''I believe it to be an outrage upon female character and sensibilities, which, considering its objects, its nature and its authors, is without parallel in the history of civilization.'' The story she tells is, in brief: that a Mr. A., a student in the Theological Seminary at Yale College, rendered ''public and exclusive'' attentions to Miss D. of New Haven which, extending over some time and terminating in no engagement, started unpleasant gossip. Miss D.'s brother, a clergyman of New Haven, brought a resolution before the ecclesiastical body that had licensed Mr. A.; that an inquiry be made into the conduct of one of their licentiates. The investigation lasted sometime and ended in a decision which did not condemn the young man. This was the decision which so shocked and dismayed Catharine that she decided to appeal to the Congregational Ministers of New England and to the religious public. Catharine Beecher's determination to do what she felt to be right is shown by her persistence in this case. All opposed her plan. Miss D. pleaded with her not to bring her again before the public eye and Miss D.'s brother as well as all of her own strenuously objected. Some of her brothers fancied an insane hospital her only proper residence.[115] But nothing could stop her. She tells Miss D.: ''The result was inevitable.''[116] She tells Miss D.'s brother[117] that she must do something about ''this unparalleled outrage on female character and sensibilities'' and again, ''what, then, is to be done when both the majority of a leading Ministerial Association, and all the moral and religious instructors of the leading University of New England have practically assumed such principles as appear in their actions? . . . And when I appeal, as I now do, to the parochial clergy of my country, and especially to those of New England, I believe, and with the very best opportunities of judging, that I am addressing not only the most honest, upright and pious, but the most honorable body of men, to be found in this or any other land. And I believe, when their attention is fairly directed to this most unparalleled development, they will search and find a cause,—a long-hidden root of evil, from which this is only one effect; a root which men, who have the care of souls resting on their hearts and consciences, can best discover and appreciate; and which, to them at least, will fully account for this heavy judgment which has fallen on this beloved and time-honored institution.''[118]

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[112] *Ibid.,* 249–350.
[113] *Ibid.,* 252.
[114] *Ibid.,* 252–262.

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[115] *Ibid.*, 284.
[116] *Ibid.*, 276.
[117] *Ibid.*, 288.

While appreciating the chivalrous spirit in which Catharine Beecher had dashed to attack the enemies of her friend, the writer cannot help agreeing with the editor of the *North American Review* of 1851, when he said: ''We think it would have been better for the subject of nearly three hundred pages of indignant defense, if the writer had left the matter where the association dropped it. . . Too much handling, even by friends, is to be deprecated for any reputation, as every touch tarnishes in a certain degree its 'lustre and freshness'.''[119]

Thus the pen of Catharine Beecher, making its trail of firm strokes through nearly fifty years, leaves a remarkably clear picture of the woman,—of her life, of her hopes and fears for herself and others, in both this world and the next. One does not need to read between the lines, for all is written in clear black upon white. One reads of a woman who walked with unhesitating step along a well planned path, with eyes upon a distant vision of a justice which should be truly blind and cease to tip the scales in favor of the ''stronger sex.''

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[118] *Ibid.*, 290–293.

[119] The *North American Review*, LXXII, 167.

CHAPTER IX

SIGNS OF THE TIMES

Between September 6, 1800, when Catharine Beecher first opened her eyes in the little seacoast village of East Hampton, and May 12, 1878, when she closed them forever on the disappointments of the world, her country had experienced great changes. In 1800 the Mississippi River marked its western boundary; by 1878 it had spread its proud reach out to the Pacific Ocean and had gathered in Alaska as well. Three times during her lifetime it had asserted its rights by force of arms and once had been torn by a great internal conflict. She had seen factories spring up in her native New England, singing their siren song of economic independence to country youths and luring the maidens especially, so Catharine believed, away from their normal callings. She had seen her countrymen progress from stagecoach and turnpike to steamboat and railroad; she had seen science wave its magic wand and transform the world with its newly-released giant—electricity. Before her death, Bell was making possible talking by wire and Edison was ready to flood the world with artificial light.[1] During her mature years, the country rumbled and roared from the violence of its political issues: the compromise of 1850, involving Daniel Webster's famous "Seventh of March Speech"; the Fugitive Slave Law; the Kansas-Nebraska Bill; the election of 1860; reconstruction; and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. These manifestations of the slavery issue, the crusades of the temperance advocates, and the growing volume of voices crying "Woman's Rights" reflected the high lights of the environment in which Catharine Beecher lived her adult life.

The three mammoth questions of her day, temperance, slavery and woman's rights, naturally were reflected in Catharine Beecher's thoughts, as they must have been in those of every intelligent, thoughtful person. Even if she had been devoid of those mental characteristics, which made her take naturally to controversial questions, she would inevitably have become immersed in them merely through being a member of the Beecher family. Her father and brothers kept sensitive fingers on the pulse of the age, and, as they counted, gave audible expression to its fluctuations; and Catharine was too truly a Beecher to be an exception to the family rule. Does it not seem strange, then, that she should have left such scant evidence of her interest in these matters? Not in the least. It can be shown that Catharine Beecher had a philosophy as perfect in conception as a sphere, with every point of its contact with the external world equally related to her abiding purpose.

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[1] Byrn, E. W.: *The Progress of Inventions in the 19th Century.*

The temperance crusade was amply represented in the Beecher family by the great Lyman himself. Had he not caused the name to be reflected from every New England hilltop by his "Six Sermons on Intemperance" in 1827, which were still echoing from London in 1837 and from Edinburgh in 1846?[2] Within a year or two of his death, he was still discoursing on "The Remedy of Intemperance." In the intervening years his had been one of the loudest and most commanding voices raised against the demon, alcohol. He had been the friend of the great temperance speaker, John B. Gough,[3] and, in 1846, was one of the speakers at the World's Temperance Convention in London.[4]

With the cause of temperance so well defended by her father, there seems to have been no motive to press Catharine into the service in this field. True, she took part in the local Temperance Society, on one occasion writing an original ode for the members of the Youths' Temperance Society of Cincinnati to sing.[5] Of temperance in all the various phases of living, she was always an advocate, voicing her plea in her *Treatise on Domestic Economy* and in her *Letters to the People on Health and Happiness*, but the more dramatic parts in this great play she left to other performers.

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[2] Beecher, L.: *Six Sermons on Intemperance.* Boston, 1827; Edinburgh, 1830; London, 1837; Edinburgh, 1846.

[3] Morrow, W. H.: *Tiger! Tiger!*

[4] *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, September 11, 1846.

[5] *Western Monthly Magazine*, (1835), III, 182.

It was impossible for Catharine entirely to escape the enmeshing net of the slavery question. We have Mrs. Stowe's word for it that all her brothers were anti-slavery men and that one of her own most vivid childhood impressions was of her father's sermons and prayers for the poor slave at the time of the Missouri Compromise.[6] Certainly Cincinnati was no place to avoid the issue representing, as a local historian expresses it, "the outpost of freedom thrust into the heart of the slave land."[7] The sympathies of the Cincinnatians were divided. Many, from their close business and social contact with the Southerners, were averse to any agitation of this smoldering topic; others, representing the New England tradition, openly or secretly aided the downtrodden race, expediting its members along the "Underground Railway."[8] Lane Seminary, itself, was a hotbed of discussion on the question of slavery, having students from both South and North, and numbering among its members Theodore D. Weld.[9] Here, early in 1834, occurred the joint debate of nine consecutive evenings which aroused so much opposition that the trustees prohibited further discussion of slavery in any public room of the Seminary.[10] The student reply to this was the departure of fifty-one to more liberal soil. The city itself became the scene of violent partisanship in the following years. In April of 1836 a pro-slavery riot broke out which lasted for several days and in July was repeated.[11]

The Beechers at this time, however, while opposed to slavery, were also disinclined to favor the spirit and methods of the Abolitionists. Lyman's sympathies seemed to lean toward the efforts of the Colonizationists, both he and Calvin Stowe serving frequently as speakers before the local society.[12] In fact, Dr. Beecher said: "I am not apprised of the ground of controversy between the Colonizationists and the Abolitionists. I am myself both, without perceiving in myself any inconsistency.'"[13] Dr. Beecher only represented the views of the Presbyterian Church in his more or less non-committal attitude, for in the resolutions on the subject of slavery passed by the Cincinnati Presbytery in October, 1839, we read that the intrinsic wickedness of enslaving unoffending men is self-evident and that the Pastors and stated supplies of the churches are hereby advised to preach to their respective charges on the sin of slave-holding as often as they preach on the subject of temperance, Sabbath desecration and other great moral questions.[14] Even Mrs. Stowe, the family's most influential anti-slavery member, seems at this time to have shared the rather neutral views of the family. This attitude is brought out by her son, Charles, in his biography of her, in which he quotes her letter of 1837 recommending "an intermediate society" in preference to the "ultra" of the Abolitionists.

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[6] Fields: *Harriet Beecher Stowe*, 135.

[7] Greve: *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, 592.

[8] *Ibid.*, 592–597.

[9] *Lane Seminary Catalogue*, 1833.

[10] *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, August 30, 1834.

[11] Greve: *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, 597; *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, April–August, 1836.

[12] Abdy, E. S.: *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the U. S. of N. America*, 40; *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, June, 1834.

Catharine held her family's opinion in 1837 and she it was who appeared at this time as their spokesman in her *Essay on Slavery and Abolitionism.* The circumstances which led her to become articulate in this field were related by herself in the Preface to her book. She writes:

"A gentleman and a friend, requested the writer to assign reasons why he should not join the Abolition Society. While preparing a reply to this request, Miss Grimké's Address was presented, and the information communicated, of her intention to visit the North, for the purpose of using her influence among northern ladies to induce them to unite with Abolition Societies. The writer then began a private letter to Miss Grimké as a personal friend. But by the wishes and advice of others, these two efforts were finally combined in the following Essay, to be presented to the public."

Angelina Grimké, to whom the essay was addressed was a member of a prominent Southern, slave-holding family, but was herself deeply opposed to the system. She and Catharine had met in the summer of 1832, when Angelina, considering the possibility of teaching as her life work, had had the Hartford Female Seminary recommended to her and had received a visit from Miss Beecher in this connection.[15] The friendly feeling Catharine subsequently entertained for Miss Grimké, however, did not prevent her publicly differing from her on this vital topic and attempting to counteract the effect of Angelina's influence in the North. Catharine's object, in her Essay, was to present some reasons why it was unwise and inexpedient for ladies of the non-slave-holding States to unite themselves in Abolition Societies, and at the same time, prove the inexpediency of Miss Grimké's proposed course. To this end, she pointed out to the Abolitionists the error of their ways, comparing their procedures unfavorably with those of the corresponding party in England. She also spoke in most uncomplimentary fashion of the movement's most active leader, William Lloyd Garrison. While admitting that most northern ladies held slavery to be a sin and believed in eventual emancipation, she pronounced the most predominating northern sentiment as that of non-interference, dictated by expediency. She ended by advising both sexes to avoid connection with the Abolition Societies and made her advice doubly prohibitive for the females. This half of the human race, destined by Divine order to occupy a subordinate status, must not depart a hair's breadth from its ''appropriate'' relation in society, depending, instead, upon the mystical and occult power of ''influence'' to make its social impress.

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[13] Beecher, L.: *Autobiography*, 323.

[14] *Cincinnati Daily Gazette,* October 5, 1839.

No sooner had Catharine's Essay appeared from the publisher, than the bomb of Abolitionist wrath burst with explosive force over her head. The *Emancipator* waxed sarcastic with its ''the question is probably settled now. So the ladies will please adjourn their convention and attend to their domestic duties.''[16] *The Constitutional Advocate of Universal Liberty,* mouthpiece of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, continued its acid comments through several numbers, taking issue with the major points of Catharine's arguments and exposing her ''prominent and fatal'' errors.[17] Richard Hildreth, writer and editor[18] relieved his feelings in a twenty-eight page pamphlet, in which he proved, among other things, that he was no subscriber to the belief that woman was a fragile flower to be constantly and carefully protected,—his own contrary opinion being shown by his thinly-veiled sarcasm at Catharine's expense. And of course, Angelina Grimké did not accept with meek humility the reproval of her former friend. Quakeress though she was, the hot blood of the Southerner coursed through her veins, and the first of her letters in reply to Catharine's appeared in the *Liberator* of June 23, 1837. Others followed and all were printed the following year in book form.[19] In them she countered Catharine's attack on the Abolitionists, repeated their claims to the northerner's aid and firmly expressed a woman's right to do anything it was morally right for a man to do.

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[15] Birney, C. H.: *The Grimké Sisters,* 106.

[16] *The Emancipator,* May 11, 1837.

[17] *The Constitutional Advocate of Universal Liberty,* June 10, July 17 and 24, 1837.

[18] *Appleton's Cyclopaedia,* 200.

It was probably not because Catharine felt herself properly reproved that she has left no further record of her feelings on the slavery question, but the fact remains that her busy pen never occupied itself again with this momentous problem. Perhaps she accepted as her own the announced policy of the Presbyterian Church which, in Assembly in 1851, agreed "to devote our time to other subjects which demand attention always praying that God will hasten on the day of universal freedom throughout the land and world."[20] Certainly the remainder of her family were anything but silent on the subject. Her brother Charles, in 1851, preached a sermon on "The duty of disobedience to wicked laws," the "wicked laws" referred to being those concerning fugitive slaves. In the spring of 1854, petitions to Congress protesting against the Kansas-Nebraska Bill carried the names of Thomas K. Beecher and Lyman Beecher.[21] Henry Ward Beecher was constantly voicing the anti-slavery cause, from the lecture platform, from his own and other pulpits, and through the pages of the *Independent*. The episode of "Beecher's Bibles," and the slave auction in Plymouth Church are only two examples of his sensational but effective work in the cause, while always from his pulpit came courageous and candid discussions of the subject.[22] And it seems almost unnecessary to mention Harriet Beecher Stowe and her great contribution in 1852. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* alone would place the Beecher name prominently to the fore in the anti-slavery movement. But whatever the emotions and actions of her family, Catharine pursued her own chosen goal, undisturbed by the gathering storm. A single purpose actuated her every move and no enticing meadows or jagged rocks of political issues could make her deviate from her path.

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[19] Grimké, A. E.: *Letters to Catharine Beecher, in reply to An Essay on Slavery and Abolitionism*, 1838.

[20] New School Presbyterian General Assembly. *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, May 28, 1851.

[21] Rhodes: *History of the U. S.*, I, 478.

The third great question of Catharine Beecher's age was that of woman's rights. From the 1840's on, the exponents of woman's rights and the declaimers of her wrongs made increasing clamor with pen and voice, while the defenders of her existing status were equally vociferous. Swelling the chorus of the latter refrain were to be found the religious and most of the secular press. With one accord they sang of frail, lovely, yielding woman, shrinking from publicity and observation and accepting with grateful contentment the domestic station which Divine Wisdom had assigned her.[23] Counting upon the religious earnestness which formed so prominent a feature in American character,[24] these conservatives pointed with convincing finger to the Bible's definite statements regarding woman's subordinate position,[25] and then softened the force of these commands by effusive flattery.[26] When a woman such as Lydia Sigourney gave expression to the prevailing notions, she was greeted with great approval and held up as a model of propriety while her mind was called "the dwelling of life and beauty."[27] But here and there a voice sang out of time and tune. Lucretia Mott, Mary Ann McClintock, Jane Hunt, Martha C. Wright, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, in 1848,[28] and, later, Susan B. Anthony, Angelina and Sarah Grimké, Lucy Stone, and many others took up a refrain of their own and received, for their daring, venomous criticism from the shocked majority.[29] But it is not our purpose to discuss here the movement for woman suffrage, except insofar as it is necessary to put Catharine Beecher into the pattern.

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[22] Beecher, H. W.: *Freedom and War,* (1863).

[23] *American Annals of Ed.,* (1835), V, 276.

[24] *New Englander,* (1864), XXIII, 497.

[25] *The Mother's Journal and Family Visitant,* (1853), XVIII, 72–77.

[26] *Ibid.,* XIX, 30.

[27] *Cincinnati Chronicle and Literary Gazette,* February 11, 1837.

[28] Stanton, E. C.: *Eighty Years and More,* 148.

Perhaps it was the books of Hannah More, with their talk of "female influences";[30] perhaps it was the result of sixteen years of association with a mother, who, though versed in science and literature, blushed painfully at any necessity of public utterance; perhaps it was the fact that father and brothers accepted her as their intellectual equal and put no limitations on her because of her sex; perhaps it was that being unmarried, she had felt no galling legal or social restraints upon her actions; but whatever the cause, Catharine Beecher, pathfinder though she was in some respects, kept her place with the conservative element on the question of woman's proper sphere. Advocate of woman's rights she most certainly was, but like the editor of the *New Englander* in 1864, she interpreted the doctrine of equal rights to be the right of every man to be a man and every woman to be a woman.[31] Woman's wrongs were many and no one could check them off more accurately than Catharine Beecher and no one devoted her life with nobler missionary zeal than she to righting them. She, however, had her own ideas as to their cause and remedy, ideas fully developed as early as her Hartford days and which the ensuing years served only to deepen. In 1829, in her *Suggestions Respecting Improvements in Education,* Catharine first gave public expression to her beliefs concerning woman's destiny:

"Woman in all her relations is bound to honour and obey those on whom she depends for her protection and support, nor does the truly feminine mind desire to exceed this limitation of Heaven. But," she continues; "Woman has never wakened to her highest destinies and holiest hopes She has yet to learn the purifying and blessed influence she may gain and maintain over the intellect and affections of the human mind. Though she may not teach from the portico, nor thunder from the forum, in her secret retirement she may form and send forth the sages that shall govern and renovate the world. Though she may not gird herself for bloody conflict, nor sound the trumpet of war, she may enwrap herself in the panoply of Heaven, and send the thrill of benevolence through a thousand youthful hearts. Though she may not enter the lists in legal collision, nor sharpen her intellect among the passions and conflicts of men, she may teach the law of kindness, and hush up the discords and conflicts of life. Though she may not be cloathed as the ambassador of Heaven, nor minister at the altar of God; as a secret angel of mercy she may teach its will, and cause to ascend the humble but most accepted sacrifice.''[32]

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[29] Stanton, Anthony, Gage: *The History of Woman Suffrage;* and Harper, Ida H.: *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony.*

[30] More, Hannah: *Female Education.*

[31] *New Englander,* (1864), XXIII, 496.

This was, of course, quite the orthodox view-point and might be expected in this instance, for Catharine was begging a boon of the citizens of Hartford and she was far too clever to antagonize those of whom she asked. So here her doctrine of submission might have been dictated by expediency. In 1841, however, her *Domestic Economy* repeated the sentiment.

''In this country,'' she wrote, ''it is established, both by opinion and by practice, that woman has an equal interest in all social and civil concerns; and that no domestic, civil, or political, institution is right, which sacrifices her interest to promote that of the other sex. But in order to secure her the more firmly in all these privileges, it is decided, that, in the domestic relation, she take a subordinate station, and that, in civil and political concerns, her interests be intrusted to the other sex, without her taking any part in voting, or in making and administering laws.''[33]

This was Miss Beecher's placid acceptance of the situation at the very time when some of her countrywomen were waxing exceedingly indignant over their treatment at the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London.[34]

''If those who are bewailing themselves,'' Catharine continued, ''over the fancied wrongs and injuries of women in this nation, could only see things as they are, they would know that, whatever remnants of a barbarous or aristocratic age may remain in our civil institutions, in reference to the interests of women, it is only because they are ignorant of them, or do not use their influence to have them rectified; for it is very certain that there is nothing reasonable, which American women would unite in asking, that would not readily be bestowed.''[35] This was Catharine's characteristic optimism, the inertia of which was to carry her over the dead spots of discouragement and depression.

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[32] Beecher, C. E.: *Suggestions Respecting Improvements in Education*, 53, 54.

[33] Beecher, C. E.: *Domestic Economy*, 1846 edition, 27.

[34] Stanton, E. C.: *Eighty Years and More*, 79.

In 1846, it will be recalled that Catharine made a tour of the important cities of the east with her young brother Thomas, the purpose of the tour being to raise money to employ an agent for her western education project. In this cause she prepared her address, *The Evils Suffered by American Women and American Children: the Cause and the Remedy.* Consistent with her belief in woman's modest demeanor, the address was delivered by Thomas and not by herself. The causes which were depressing her sex, Catharine stated, were mainly two: the principle of caste which was arrayed against healthful and productive labor (seamstress, nurse, domestic) and the excess of female population in the older states from the disproportionate emigration of the other sex, with the result that all branches of female employment in the older states were thronged while in the newer states domestics, nurses, seamstresses and female teachers were in great demand. The remedy for the one was to secure a proper education for all classes and make productive labor honorable by having all classes engage in it and for the other to have women go as missionary teachers to the west.[36]

''This,'' she announced with finality, ''will prove the true remedy for all those wrongs of women which her mistaken champions are seeking to cure by drawing her into professions and pursuits which belong to the other sex. When all the mothers, teachers, nurses, and domestics are taken from our sex, which the best interests of society demand, and when all these employments are deemed respectable, and are filled by well-educated women, there will be no supernumeraries found to put into shops and mills, or to draw into the arena of public and political life.''[37] This was substantially her view until the end and each product of her pen gives repeated expression to it.

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[35] Beecher, C. E.: *Domestic Economy,* 1846 edition, 33.

[36] Beecher, C. E.: *The Evils Suffered by American Women and American Children,* 5–7.

By 1851 the Woman's Rights movement had been definitely launched. Startling the country with the Seneca Falls Convention in July, of 1848, with its Declaration of Rights and Resolutions, it continued its disturbing progress in Ohio, Indiana, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania,[38] initiating ''the first organized protest against the injustice which had brooded for ages over the character and destiny of one-half the race.''[39] Among those who voiced their disapproval of such unprecedented action was Catharine Beecher. In 1851, she published her *True Remedy for the Wrongs of Women,* with a history of an enterprise having that for its object. Admitting that ''even in our most favored country, our sex, as a whole, are in many ways sufferers from unjust laws, opinions, and customs''[40] and giving due credit to the intelligence, honesty and benevolence of the persons engaged in exposing these wrongs, she still objected to the methods being pursued. She had no intention of joining in the vituperation and ridicule directed against these leaders, because, as she very sensibly argued, such a course only served to add to the sympathy and respect with which just and dispassionate minds regarded their efforts. ''In a case like this,'' she wrote, ''where a noble object is sought by wrong methods, the only way to stop the mischief is to set about accomplishing the same thing by right methods'' and so she purposed: ''to set forth a better way, and to show some practical results that will tend, as I hope, to convince all whose sympathies are awakened in this direction, that what is now sought by the Woman's Rights party in this country and abroad, can be secured by far safer, less objectionable, and more efficient methods, than those they are now pursuing.''[41] She then expressed her customary opinion of woman's wrongs, which she here called ''the primary disease, of which all others are symptomatic developments,'' as the fact that the profession of woman was disgraced; that she was not educated for her true vocation; that she was, to a marked extent, excluded from her appropriate employ, and that, when qualified for it by a proper education, she was not drawn to it by the motives of honor and emolument that stimulate the other sex.[42] The remedy was, obviously, the proper education of woman for her true vocation, and the securing for her of remunerative and honorable employ in it.[43] This was her analysis of the problem; but other leaders, whose methods she deprecated, believed the right of suffrage to be the underlying principle of the whole question.[44] Catharine strengthened her general claims with an account of the progress her western enterprise was already making and ended with the challenge that there was no real social evil to which woman was subjected which was not fully in her power to remedy. She elaborated:

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[37] *Ibid.*, 12.

[38] Stanton, E. C.: *Eighty Years and More,* 148–150; Harper, Ida H.: *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony,* 59.

[39] Stanton, E. C.: *Eighty Years and More,* 149.

[40] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy,* 21.

[41] *Ibid.*, 21–23.

''Is it claimed that there are civil laws which are unjust and unequal, and contrary to the Bible rights of our sex? Let every intelligent woman use her influence with the lawmakers, and in an acceptable manner, and these laws would speedily be changed. Is it claimed, that, in social customs, the guilty woman is treated with overbearing cruelty, and the guilty man with shameful leniency? Let all virtuous women decide that they will treat both sexes alike, and the unjust custom will speedily pass away. Is it claimed that woman is deprived of the means of education, and of honorable and remunerative employ? There is wealth and power enough in the hands of women alone, to rectify all the evils that spring from this source. Is it claimed that women are excluded from all offices of honor and emolument? Instead of rushing into the political arena to join in the scramble for office, or attempting to wedge into the over-crowded learned professions of man, let woman raise and dignify her own profession, and endow posts of honor and emolument in it, that are suited to the character and duties of her sex.''[45]

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[42] *Ibid.*, 44.
[43] *Ibid.*, 45.
[44] Harper, Ida H.: *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, 185.
[45] Beecher, C. E.: *True Remedy*, 231–232.

Was she right? One has but to look ahead another half century to read the answer written on the statute books of the several states: by 1902 the demands of the Seneca Falls Convention for the right to personal freedom, to acquire an education, to earn a living, to claim her wages, to own property, to make contracts, to bring suit, to obtain a divorce for just cause, and to possess her children had all been met in some states and in not one state were all refused.[46] Moreover, the historians of the suffrage movement stated at this time, that the cause of the denial of this one privilege lay in the fact that the petitioners for it were in the minority.[47]

Right or wrong, Catharine Beecher in 1851 basked in the sunshine of approval while her bolder countrywomen received sarcasm and ridicule. ''Miss Beecher's book,'' wrote the editor of the *Christian Examiner,* ''we have read with pleasure and instruction. . . . Such a woman would command our vote to any office to which she could constitutionally aspire. Her views on the part which women should take in the early education of both sexes, and the entire education of their own, meet our unqualified approbation.''[48] The editor of the *Independent* warmly praised the volume. Said he, cautiously: ''There are certain infelicities in the condition of women, or rather of some women, that may be remedied. These Miss Beecher proposes to remedy by means of education. Miss B. is blessed with a noble intellect and a noble heart, and her generous impulses and endeavors, and her self-sacrificing devotion to the good of her sex will not go unrewarded.''[49]

Like the leaders of the opposing party, Catharine lost no opportunity to impress her solution of woman's troubles upon the country's mind. In addressing the Society for the Advancement of Education, in 1856, ostensibly for the purpose of arousing educators to the health needs of teachers and pupils, she could not forbear from making brief allusion to the subject. ''It is well known,'' she writes, ''that the wrongs of women have been urged on the attention of the public by an organization of talented and energetic men and women, who command a wide and increasing sympathy. To remedy the wrongs set forth, they urge, 'Give us the professions of man, and access to his institutions for preparation.' The American Women's Educational Association, on the contrary, urges, 'Give us institutions that shall prepare us for our own distinctive profession, and give us honorable and remunerative employment in it.' "[50]

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[46] Anthony and Harper: *The History of Woman Suffrage,* IV, xiii and 450–1011.

[47] *Ibid.*, xxv.

[48] *Christian Examiner,* LII, 199.

[49] *Independent,* July 24, 1851.

During 1863, 1864 and 1865 the proposed Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution were arousing to violent action the leaders of the Woman's Rights movement because of the obvious intention of the lawmakers to insert the word "male" into the Constitution. Such action would create a more formidable barrier than any existing against the enfranchisement of women.[51] It was in these years that Catharine Beecher, entirely unruffled by man's overt act in effectually barring her from political participation, wrote her series of articles on "Woman's Profession Dishonored" and "How to Redeem Woman's Profession from Dishonor"[52] in which she offered her soothing doctrines of woman's true place and work.

In spite of the protests of the women, the Fourteenth Amendment acquired the force of law on July 28, 1868, and the Fifteenth was pending,[53] "the word 'male' being thereby three times branded on the Constitution,"[54] This setback but spurred the women on to greater efforts which resulted in May of 1869 in the formation of the National Woman Suffrage Association, the especial object of which was to be a Sixteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution securing the ballot to the women of the nation on equal terms with men.[55] A scant week after this decisive step was taken, a quieter meeting of ladies was held in a private home in New York City. It was the annual meeting of Catharine Beecher's organization, the American Women's Educational Association and here, too, resolutions were passed.

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[50] *American Journal of Education,* (1856), II, 406.

[51] Harper, Ida H.: *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony,* I, 248.

[52] See Chapter X.

[53] Hall: *Constitutional Law,* 391, 392.

[54] Harper, I. H.: *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony,* I, 313.

[55] *Ibid.,* 327.

Here no heroic measures were proposed to disturb the foundations of our man-ridden government, but a most peaceful program of education for woman was firmly pressed. The resolutions adopted told the familiar story of woman's true profession and the lack of preparation for it.[56] Perhaps Catharine was clever enough to hope that the distaste for those other resolutions and claims would cause the tide of public opinion to flow toward her less irritating ones. *The Tribune,* at least, indicated such a reaction with its "the resolutions passed by the Association impress us as more eloquent and practical, if a little less sublime, than those which have been read on bolder platforms."[57] The belief that such may have been Catharine's hope is further strengthened by a story told by Elizabeth Cady Stanton in her charming *Reminiscences.* Catharine, it seems, said she was opposed to woman suffrage and if she thought there was any danger of its being attained, she would write and talk against it vehemently. But, since the nation was safe against such a calamity, she was willing to let the talk go on, because the agitation helped her work.[58] Her belief that achievement of the wishes of the suffragists must necessarily be far away was again expressed in the pamphlet issued by the American Women's Educational Association in the fall of 1869 which read: "A long time must elapse before public opinion would arrive at this result [the ballot]. But the attempt to establish institutions, well endowed to support women instructors as men have provided for themselves, would have an immediate influence, while it would escape the prejudice and the difficulties incident to giving woman the ballot."

In 1870, the *Principles of Domestic Science* which appeared under the joint authorship of Catharine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe carried approximately the same message and in May of 1871, about the time the suffrage anniversary was being held in New York,[59] Catharine was inviting the ladies of Hartford to a meeting to consider a plan for securing to the daughters of the city educational advantages equal to those provided for their brothers.[60] The preceding winter, she had made her only direct attack on Female Suffrage in an address delivered at the Music Hall of Boston in December. On this occasion, according to her own statement, she appeared to present her views of that large portion of her sex who were opposed to such a change of the laws and customs as would place the responsibility of civil government on woman. She did not discuss, in this address, the question of woman's natural and abstract right to the ballot, but presented the reasons for assuming that it must be a very long time before woman suffrage could be gained, so that the evils it was hoped to cure by the ballot would continue and increase for a long period. She presented, instead, another method for gaining the advantages unjustly withheld which thus would remedy wrongs which both parties were seeking to redress. The "other method" was, of course, none other than the old, old story refurbished a bit and coming out as good as new.[61] Recalling Miss Beecher's statement that she would not talk vehemently against woman suffrage, we may wonder at her taking up the cudgels on this occasion until we realize that, in 1869, women had been granted the franchise in the territory of Wyoming.[62] Catharine, however, need not have been uduly alarmed at this one example for it was not until 1893 that any other state followed suit and she was quite right in predicting the passage of many long years before the Federal Amendment could be achieved. Never again did she mount the lecture platform to tilt swords with her adversaries; but neither did she for one moment relinquish the pursuit of her own cherished beliefs. In March of 1872, a letter to Dr. Leonard Bacon said: "God has made woman for her appropriate duties and her health and intellect both will be best developed in these duties."[63] And in 1873 while the friends of suffrage were breathlessly awaiting the outcome of the trial of Susan B. Anthony for voting under the

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[56] See Chapter X.

[57] *N. Y. Daily Tribune,* June 3, 1869.

[58] Stanton, E. C.: *Eighty Years and More,* 264.

[59] Harper, Ida H.: *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony,* I, 383.

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[60] *Hartford Daily Courant*, May 4, 1871.

[61] Beecher, C. E.: *Woman's Profession as Mother and Educator*, 1872.

[62] Shaw: *The Story of a Pioneer*, 246.

[63] *MS.* Letter of Catharine Beecher to Dr. Leonard Bacon, [Yale University Library].

Fourteenth Amendment,[64] Catharine was placidly holding a meeting of Hartford ladies in the cause of girls' education.[65] It is not until 1874 that we find the least indication of Catharine's withdrawal from the austerely prohibitive view she had hitherto held on the question of woman suffrage. In her *Educational Reminiscences* published this year, she surprises us by writing: "Let the franchise be given to women on condition that they are duly qualified by paying taxes and a certain measure of education, and then every woman will have new stimulus to fit herself for these responsibilities. And one immediate result would be the increase of intelligent voters."[66] So, here, in her last contribution to educational literature, we find her reconciling what had previously seemed to her two diverse causes, and now realizing that they were not only friendly in sentiment but, perhaps, necessary complements of the same great cause.

Catharine Beecher was assuredly not her family's representative on the suffrage question. Henry Ward Beecher, active in the anti-slavery campaign, was also interested in this "ultra." According to his most recent biographer,[67] he had announced his conversion to suffrage as early as 1854 and certainly his addresses of October 26, 1858, on "Mental Culture for Women" and of February 2, 1860, on "Woman's Influence in Politics" definitely announce his position. One must smile at his reasoning in the former address in which he says: "They declare that this theory of Woman's Rights, this enlarging of the sphere of Woman is unnatural, and against the decree and providence of God. The least I can say is, that all those men who refuse to give to woman a larger sphere, should combine and certainly give her a husband."[68] Henry Ward Beecher was thereafter a constant friend of the movement, serving frequently as speaker at conventions and meetings.[69]

In 1869, Isabella Beecher Hooker went actively into suffrage work and proved a valuable ally.[70] In October of this year, through her agency, a woman's suffrage convention was held in Hartford which resulted in the formation of the Connecticut Woman's Suffrage Association.[71] After the first two years, Mrs. Hooker was the president of this association;[72] and the first tract issued by the association was from John Hooker's pen.[73] From this time on, Isabella Beecher Hooker's name appears prominently in the annals of the movement.[74]

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[64] Harper, Ida H.: *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony,* I, 431–448.

[65] *Hartford Daily Courant,* November 17, 1873.

[66] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences,* 201.

[67] Hibben: *Henry Ward Beecher,* 236.

[68] Beecher, H. W.: *Address on Mental Culture for Women,* 25.

[69] Stanton, Anthony, Gage: *History of Woman Suffrage,* II.

[70] Harper, Ida H.: *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony,* I, 331.

While Henry Ward and Isabella were the two Beechers most actively engaged in the movement, others in the family had to a greater or less extent similar sentiments. In 1870, Edward Beecher, then at Galesburg, Illinois, was President of the Woman Suffrage Convention which met at Springfield.[75] Harriet Beecher Stowe, while not making much comment on the subject, suggests in her *House and Home Papers* that ladies who have all the rights they want should not so dismiss the subject.[76]

Thus we see that Catharine's attitude toward the suffrage movement was by no means dictated by her sisters and brothers. She demonstrated clearly that her commendation of political dependence for women did not in the least indicate that she believed in their mental dependence. While it is possible that her position in the anti-suffrage ranks resulted from deep conviction, it is just as likely that she assumed it because she deemed it a more strategic one from which to push her own great plans. Instead of urging the proper education of women as a phase of the woman's rights movement, she offered it as a better alternative, through and by which woman could make her best contribution to the world. Whether she or her opponents were right is not yet settled. True, on August 20, 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution became effective, thereby granting at last the remaining right for which the women fought. Catharine Beecher's prediction that this consummation would be long in arriving and that in the meantime the increasing of the educational opportunities for her sex was possible of immediate achievement has been fulfilled. Even before her death, she saw the barriers which held woman from the institutions of higher learning, slowly being removed. And now, after a decade of woman's political participation, who can say that greater good has been achieved than would have inevitably followed woman's scientific preparation for and adherence to what Miss Beecher called her "peculiar profession"? Opinion is divided now, as it was in 1870.[77] The suffrage advocates have tried their plan, but Catharine Beecher's has never fully been put to trial. The profession of homekeeper has yet to receive the honor and remuneration she hoped for it, for in the recent nose-counting of 1930 the housewife was recorded as having "no occupation."

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[71] *Connecticut Courant*, October 16, November 6, 1869; *Hartford Daily Courant*, December 24, 1874.

[72] *Hartford Daily Courant*, December 24, 1874.

[73] *Connecticut Courant*, December 18, 1869.

[74] Stanton, Anthony, Gage: *History of Woman Suffrage*, II.

[75] *Brooklyn Daily Union*, February 14, 1870.

[76] *Connecticut Courant*, August 21, 1869.

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[77] *Literary Digest,* April 26, 1930, 11: "Ten Years of Woman Suffrage."

CHAPTER X

LATER YEARS

During the years of Catharine's intermittent visits to Iowa, Wisconsin and Illinois to prod or encourage one of her schools, she was incessantly busy, a veritable peripatetic, never to be found in one place long at a time. In her perigrinations she was sometimes a Crusader journeying in the behalf of women and children, sometimes a Ponce de Leon seeking an elusive source of good health. From about the age of thirty, poor health clung to her heels, reaching sometimes a magnitude which necessitated the cessation of all normal activities. Not that she was at all unique in this misfortune; robustness during the years of her adulthood was the exception among women rather than the rule.[1] The lady of fashion was she of the pale, ''interesting'' countenance, wasp waist and listless air, who fainted with or without provocation. Indeed, one historian believes that poor health was ''enjoyed'' by both sexes. He has said that travellers with hardly an exception, were struck with this feature in Americans.[2] Americans themselves fully appreciated the situation.[3] The climate was blamed for this defect, but unquestionably Catharine Beecher was correct when she attributed it in written and spoken word to lack of proper exercise, bad cooking and diet, imperfect housing, ventilation and clothing.[4]

Catharine, instead of tamely accepting a future of confirmed invalidism, sought a remedy. Life offered too many intriguing possibilities for usefulness for her to be content with pale, folded hands and pensive face of suffering. So she began her long round of health resorts and cures, consulting medical men of reputation in every section. Her Odyssey, written in 1855, full of characteristic, dry humor, gives a delicious picture:

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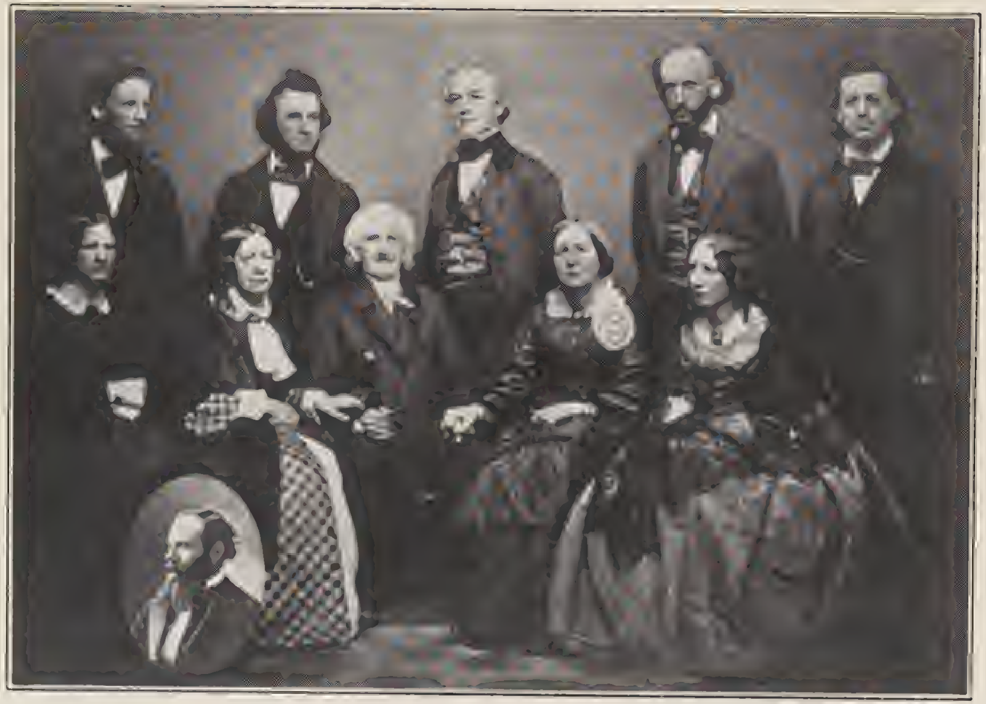
[1] Beecher, C. E.: *Letters to the People on Health and Happiness*, 121.

[2] Rhodes, James Ford: *History of the U. S.*, III, 66. This author quotes Lyell, Martineau, Bremer, Thackeray.

[3] *Ibid.*, 67. Rhodes quotes *Atlantic Monthly, Harpers Magazine*, Emerson, Holmes, etc.

[4] Beecher, C. E.: *Domestic Economy; Healthkeeper and Housekeeper; Letters to the People on Health and Happiness; Physiology and Calisthenics.*



THE BEECHER FAMILY ABOUT 1859
Courtesy of Miss Ellen Farrar, of Elmira, New York

"Every function of life was proceeding in perfect order; every organ seemed in entire health; what could be the cause of this nervous excitability centering, as it usually did, in one limb? . . . One distinguished physician was confident the disease arose from the stomach; and so, though not a symptom of any trouble came from that quarter, dose after dose was administered for that organ. Next galvanism was prescribed, but without effect. Next the new school of homeopathy was invoked, and a shower of innocent little pellets were poured into the stomach, all to no purpose. Next I encountered Dr. Buchanan and his theory of neurology. . . Not a long time after, a very learned professor urged my visiting a clairvoyant, who had performed wonderful cures, . . . in my case her prescriptions of Sherwood's Electro-Magnetic Machine, and some bitters for the stomach were of no avail. Next, on visiting at the West, I encountered a lecturer on Psychology, who assured my brother that my case could be cured by this method. And so I sat and stared for some fifteen minutes at a silver sixpence held in my hand, and then my brother stroked me and stared at me—and this day after day, but all to no purpose. . . Soon after this a Water Cure came to my knowledge, and I spent nearly a year at the most celebrated establishment for this treatment. . . Soon after, another establishment was visited by quite a number of the most intelligent of my fellow-patients, who reported wonderful cures by a man who detected disease by a peculiar magnetic power in the ends of his fingers. As a matter of curiosity I joined them, was examined, and found that the cause of my weak limb was an accumulation of mucus on the coats of the lower intestines. Willing to try an experiment which I felt sure could do no harm, I directed the doctor to muster his engines and try his skill. For six weeks he labored to bring on a mucus crisis, when suddenly he departed this life, and, I departed this kind of treatment."[5]

During a period of ten or twelve years, Miss Beecher resided in not less than thirteen different health establishments, in addition to having special treatments from individual physicians.[6]

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[5] Beecher, C. E.: *Letters to the People on Health and Happiness*, 114–119.

[6] *Ibid.*, 120.

She tried Sulphur Baths, Vapor Baths, Russian Baths, Chemical Baths, Turkish Baths and Sun Baths. Referring to these in 1871, she says: "Owing chiefly to my own knowledge and caution, I was not injured . . . myself by any."[7]

The last, and only successful residence in a health establishment, was that of a Dr. Geo. H. Taylor, who employed the "Swedish Movement Cure."[8] Miss Beecher says her interest in this direction was awakened by books put into her hands by Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell.[9] Catharine was much taken with the life and philosophy of Ling and was convinced, through personal experience, of the efficacy of treatments based upon his ideas.[10] Just at the time, however, when there seemed to be a fair prospect of an entire cure by this treatment, she was thrown down and dragged by a railroad car in motion and nearly thrown under the wheels. The fright, the jar and the strain on the weakened limb disabled her for a whole year.[11] Incidentally, to make this mournful episode complete, it might be told that the $2500 received for this injury was lost in a few months through the failure of a supposedly safe Boston bank.[12] Her faith in this type of treatment, however, was established and by following it and all the laws of health as she conceived them, she described herself in 1871 as enjoying perfect health. "I have also," she said at this time, "been every year gaining in strength and in the increased power of faculties usually diminished by age. And should burnings, and crushing of railroads, and other casualties be escaped, I have a fair chance for at least another twenty years of health and active usefulness."

Catharine Beecher's prescription for good health, compounded from the painful experiments of many years, seems quite like the twentieth century for the most part: "securing pure air by night and day; regular and abundant sleep in the hours of darkness, and no mental or physical labor except by day; a daily . . . bath; living in light and well ventilated rooms, and often sitting in the sun; abstinence from stimulating drinks of all kinds; a simple diet of properly cooked food in a moderate quantity, and only at regular hours; daily outdoor exercise by walking, riding, and use of the muscles of the arms and trunk; clothing that never compresses any part and always protects from chills; abstinence from over excitement of all kinds; the cultivation of a cheerful and quiet spirit; healthful amusements; benevolent activity never to exceed the strength; and all this prayerfully pursued as a religious duty owed to God, to my fellow men, and to myself.''[13] The unique quality of this formula can only be appreciated when one recalls that this was an age of whalebone, paper-soled shoes, sweeping bulky skirts, a dozen petticoats, tables groaning with much food, often badly cooked, and an abiding fear of fresh air, especially at night; an age when exercise was represented by a stately parade of boarding-school Misses or an exciting game of croquet.

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[7] Beecher, C. E.: *Woman's Profession as Mother and Educator*, 147.

[8] *Ibid.*, 147; *Letters to the People on Health and Happiness*, 119.

[9] Beecher, C. E.: *Letters to the People on Health and Happiness*, 119.

[10] *Ibid.*, 119–120.

[11] *Ibid.*, 120.

[12] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences*, 207.

Catharine Beecher had found her magic fountain, but she was not content to keep its precious secret to herself. The years of the late fifties find her proselyting her beliefs through pen and voice. In 1855 she published her *Letters to the People on Health and Happiness* in which she set out to prove that the American people were pursuing a course, in their own habits and practices, which was destroying health and happiness to an appalling extent; that the majority of parents were systematically educating the rising generation to be feeble, deformed, homely, sickly and miserable. She purposed to show that if a plan for destroying female health, in all the ways in which it could most effectively be done, were drawn up, it would be exactly the course which was being pursued by a large portion of the nation, especially among wealthier classes. These evils were suffered, she believed, because the people were ignorant of the most basic conceptions of health and this ignorance she proceeded to remove. She hoped to reach all: the children through clear and simple language and even the business man through brevity.[14] Before bringing out this book, Miss Beecher sent proof copies to cultivated, judicious and influential persons of her acquaintance to secure their opinion as to what should be said and what should be omitted. It was probably to this that she referred, in a letter of April 3, 1855, to Dr. Thomas Brainerd, minister of the Third Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia,[15] when she said: "I am not coming for money this time, but for counsel, which you know costs nothing, and influence which in this matter in hand will be better than money. I cannot explain till you have rec'd a printed work that you may receive perhaps the next mail."[16]

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[13] Beecher, C. E.: *Woman's Profession,* (1872), 149.

[14] Beecher, C. E.: *Letters to the People on Health and Happiness,* 7–11.

The next year, 1856, Miss Beecher directed her attention specifically to the health of school children and in this cause she published her *Physiology and Calisthenics for Schools and Families.* Its design was to "teach the methods by which children may be trained at school, so as to become healthful, strong, graceful, and good-looking,"[17] by the introduction into American schools of a system of physical training. To effect this introduction, Miss Beecher employed her time in the spring and summer of this year. The following letter throws some light on her methods:

"Baltimore, March 18/56

"My dear Mrs. Brainerd—

"Your kind note in reply to mine was detained in the P. O. for several days—in consequence I addressed some of my other friends. But tho' now invited to other homes, none seem so inviting to me as yours—so I think you will see me the latter part of this week.

"At Cincinnati the School Board gave orders that the Schools be intermitted for half a day that the teachers might hear me. I had there an audience of five hundred teachers and friends of education. . .

"Similar opportunities were offered in other Western Cities—It has been thro' the superintendents of public schools that I have been thus favoured. I write now to ask your aid and that of Dr. Brainerd to ascertain whether or not there is any meeting of the City Trustees of Schools the last of this week that would make it desirable for me to hasten my journey to meet them. I go this P. M. to meet the City Trustees & Superintendents of the Baltimore Schools, and had I come a day later I should have had to wait a week for a similar opportunity—It may be this letter & your kindness will save me a similar delay in Philadelphia . . . explain my object & find out whether there is any need of my hastening to Phila. If there is,—will you send me a wire at Barnum's Hotel, Baltimore.

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[15] *Philadelphia Directory,* 1855.

[16] *MS.* Letter of Catharine Beecher, [Simon Gratz Collection, H. S. P.].

[17] See p. 9.

"Hoping soon to have the pleasure of meeting you & yours, I remain very affectionately,

"Yours,
"Catharine E. Beecher."[18]

Her plans at Baltimore worked out well. A letter setting forth her suggestions was read at the meeting of the Board of School Commissioners and Miss Beecher herself then addressed the Board, "briefly but apparently to the general satisfaction of the members."[19] Mrs. Almira L. Phelps, who was also deeply interested in the subject of physical education[20] also spoke. The following Resolutions were recommended and adopted:

"Resolved, that the Study Room of the Central High School be tendered to Miss Beecher and that she be requested to deliver a lecture to the teachers of the Public Schools on the Physical Education and health of the pupils on Thursday afternoon at 3 o'clock.

"Resolved, that all the teachers of the public schools be informed of the desire of the Board that they should attend the lecture of Miss Beecher and that the schools be closed for the purpose at 12 o'clock on Thursday. . . .

"Resolved, that the Board of School Commissioners of the City of Baltimore have heard with pleasure the statements and remarks of Miss Beecher and Mrs. Phelps, with reference to the Physical Education of the children of our Public Schools and will cheerfully cooperate in any proper measure that may be deemed desirable to promote the subject of the mission—

"Resolved, that the Board hereby testifies its regards and high appreciation of the efforts and exertions made by them in regard to the intellectual and physical education of our country in communicating knowledge as teachers and authors, in both of which capacities they have attained a meritorious and enviable position in the Public estimation.

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[18] *MS.* Letter, [Dreer Collection, H. S. P.].

[19] *MS.* Minutes of the Board of School Commissioners, March 18, 1856, [Board of Education, Baltimore, Md.].

[20] Phelps: *Female Students,* 61–92; *Lectures to Young Ladies,* 49–65.

"Resolved, that this Board will attend the lecture of Miss Beecher on this subject on Thursday afternoon next and that she be requested to invite such friends to the lecture as she may desire."[21]

On the day of the lecture, a Baltimore newspaper announced the meeting planned for that afternoon[22] but our curiosity must remain unsatisfied regarding subsequent events, for the speech was not reported in the press. No doubt its content was, however, substantially the same as of that presented in Cincinnati the preceding January, on which occasion Miss Beecher had enumerated the causes of a deteriorated female generation and had pointed out remedies. She had also presented her statistics on health of girls and women gathered in health establishments and in girls' schools. She had urged the adoption of her newly-issued *Physiology and Calisthenics* in the schools.[23] If Baltimore's juvenile population received improved instruction in the matter of health, it must have been the result of individual teacher action, for the Board of School Commissioners made no further reference to Miss Beecher or to her plan.[24]

In Philadelphia, whither Miss Beecher went from Baltimore, a special meeting of the Board of Controllers of the Public Schools was called for the purpose of hearing "a statement from Miss Catharine E. Beecher of Boston in relation to the Physical education of the children attending the Public schools." She spoke to the Board and then retired, whereupon resolutions similar to those at Baltimore were recommended and adopted:

"Resolved, that Miss Catharine E. Beecher be requested to deliver a lecture before the Controllers of Public Schools on Tuesday afternoon the 1st prox. at 4 o'clock in the lecture room of the High School and that the members of select and common councils, the Directors of the different sectional Boards and Teachers of the Public Schools be invited to attend.

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[21] *MS.* Minutes of Board of School Commissioners, March 18, 1856.

[22] *The Sun,* March 20, 1856.

[23] *Cincinnati Gazette,* January 30, 1856.

[24] *MS.* Minutes to end of April, 1856.

"Resolved, that the Directors of the different sections be requested to close all the schools in their section on next Tuesday afternoon to give the Teachers an opportunity to attend the lecture."[25] Again, unfortunately, we are left to conjecture concerning the nature of the heralded meeting and its results. The newspapers are completely silent regarding it and the records of the Board of Controllers are equally uncommunicative.

On the 13th of August the American Association for the Advancement of Education met at Detroit and to this meeting Miss Beecher sent a communication embodying her hopes and plans regarding the physical education of children. "For this purpose," she wrote, "they need a short, simple course of practical instruction on the laws of health, as the laws of God, which they commit sin in violating as really as when they steal or lie. And they need to have the consequences of violating these laws urged on their attention as often and earnestly as are their religious duties, and the penalties of another world. . . With this should be combined a daily course of physical training in school."

The answer to these needs was, of course, her *Physiology and Calisthenics,* the use of which was doubly blessed. The copyright had been presented to the American Women's Educational Association to be used in endowing the Health Departments of their institutions.[26]

During the later years of her life, Catharine was still connected with the American Women's Educational Association, although the Fourth Annual Report, May 1856, contained her resignation from all active participation. In the fall of 1869, her name appears as Secretary on a printed circular sent out by the association.[27] At the annual meeting of this year, the organization produced a set of resolutions which received some notice and comment in the press and periodicals. While maintaining steadfastly the association's conservative platform concerning woman's sphere of action, these resolutions nevertheless show a change of emphasis,—a broadening of ideas of usefulness in keeping with advancing social concepts. The ladies took action as follows:

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[25] *MS.* Minutes of the Board of Controllers, March 28, 1856. [Board of Education, Philadelphia, Pa.]

[26] Beecher, C. E.: "Health of Teachers and Pupils;" Barnard: *Am. Journ. of Ed.,* (1856), II, 399–408.

[27] *Circular* addressed to Mrs. Horace Mann, [Boston Public Library]

"Resolved, That one cause of the depressed condition of woman is the fact the distinctive profession of her sex, as nurse of infancy and of the sick, as educator of childhood, and as the chief minister of the family state has not been duly honored, nor such provision been made for its scientific and practical training as is accorded to the other sex for their professions, and that it is owing to this neglect that women are driven to seek honor and independence in the institutions and the professions of men.

"Resolved, That the science of Domestic Economy, in its various branches, involves more important interests than any other human science; and that the evils suffered by women would be extensively remedied by establishing institutions for training woman for her profession, which shall be generously endowed as are the institutions of men, many of which have been largely endowed by women.

"Resolved, That the science of Domestic Economy shall be made a study in all institutions for girls; and that certain practical employments of the family state should be made a part of common school education, especially the art of sewing, which is so useful for the poor; and that we will use our influence to secure these important measures.

"Resolved, That every young woman should be trained to some business, by which she can earn an independent livelihood in case of poverty.

"Resolved, That in addition to the various in-door employments suitable for women, there are other out-door employments, especially favourable to health, and equally suitable, such as raising fruit & flowers, the culture of silk and cotton, the raising of bees, and the superintendence of dairy farms and manufactures. All of these offer avenues to wealth and independence for women as properly as men, and schools for imparting to women the science and practice of these employments should be provided, and as liberally as are the agricultural schools for men. . .

"Resolved, That the Protestant clergy would greatly aid in these efforts by preaching on the honor and duties of the family state. In order to this, we request their attention to a work, just published by Miss Beecher and Mrs. Stowe, entitled *The American Women's Home,* which largely discusses many important topics of this general subject while the authors have devoted most of their profits from this work to promote the plans of the American Women's Educational Association.''[28]

The editor of the New York *Tribune* said of them: ''The resolutions passed by the Association impress us as more eloquent and practical, if a little less sublime, than those which have been read on bolder platforms. . . Whatever may be thought of other movements seeking the amelioration of Woman's condition, this at least is one on which all can unite, and to which all will wish God-speed.''[29]

This argument, we saw, was Catharine's precisely.[30] *Appleton's Journal,* early in 1870, characterized the idea of the American Women's Educational Association as excellent, ''provided, the association will not seek to establish universities, and will be content in the less ambitious purpose of establishing schools for industrial ends pure and simple—to make women learned in the arts of the household, in economy, in the rearing of children, etc.''[31]

The association, however, in the late 60's and early 70's was still seeking the institution which would be the perfect example of all its theories. Milwaukee College, the one existing product of its efforts, did not reach its ideal[32] and, after 1866, had no connection with the Association. The idea of an institution nearer home, where personal supervision would be possible, began to take form. Perhaps Miss Beecher had this in mind, as early as 1861, when she wrote Mr. I. A. Lapham at Milwaukee: ''the plan will be tried somewhere—the only question is whether the first example shall be at Milwaukee or nearer my friends and home.''[33] In the fall of 1865, a circular issued by the American Women's Educational Association, gave a rather detailed description of the newer plan, which provided for a still higher grade of school than the Female Seminary or College of the preceding decade. This was to be a professional school, the purpose of which was to "train teachers to carry on these professional schools, and also to train governesses to teach health and domestic economy in families in connection with school duties and accomplishments."[34] This attempt was to be carried on in connection with a girls' school already in existence in a neighboring city,[35] aiming to carry forward, at the same time, the regular course of study and a complete system of industrial training, to prepare woman for her future professional duties as educator of the mind in childhood, the nurse of infants and of the sick, and the conservator of all branches of domestic economy and the family state. The institution was to have, of course, the three departments characteristic of the Association's ideal schools and was also, obviously, to be endowed. And there was an idea, borrowed perhaps, from Dio Lewis: "In selecting the first class to prepare for these duties a portion will consist of superior teachers thrown out of employment by loss of health, aiming both to fit them for these departments and to restore them to health and usefulness by their training in the Health Department."[36] The first teachers of the professional departments were to be trained by Miss C. E. Beecher, the circular read, "assisted by other ladies of intellectual culture and domestic experience." This commendable institution would not long stand alone, it was hoped, but would soon be copied in other cities and gradually spread all over the nation.

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[28] *New York Daily Tribune,* June 3, 1869.

[29] *N. Y. Daily Tribune,* June 3, 1869.

[30] See Chapter IX.

[31] *Appleton's Journal,* April 23, 1870.

[32] See Chapter VII.

[33] *MS.* Letter of Catharine Beecher to I. A. Lapham, March 25, 1861. [Milwaukee-Downer College Archives.]

A little pamphlet, published by the American Women's Educational Association in the autumn of 1869, refers again to the plan for the new institution, which apparently was still embryonic. Four years barren of results must have dampened even the ardent enthusiasm of Catharine, for this circular says: "It is probable that, at first, only the Literary and Domestic Departments will be organized and the aim will be to carry on a course of study and domestic training so combined that about 4 hours will be given to study and recitation, and as much to domestic labor, partly in a house prepared for the purpose, and partly in out-door culture of fruits and flowers.''

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[34] *Circular* of A. W. E. A. [Vassar College Library].

[35] Apparently Hartford Female Seminary, for the circular of 1855 says: "in connection with a flourishing female institution in an adjacent city" and "in the city where her earliest labor to improve female education commenced."

[36] *Ibid.*

In December 1870, the matter was again mentioned by Miss Beecher in the course of a lecture delivered in Boston on Female Suffrage.[37] She said:

''the following is given as the ideal, at which I have been aiming in efforts to establish a Woman's University; by which I mean, not a large boarding establishment of pupils removed from parental care, but an institution embracing the whole course of a woman's training from infancy to a self-supporting profession, in which both parents and teachers have a united influence and agency. According to this ideal such an institution would be divided into distinct schools, all under the same board of supervision and all carrying out a connected and appropriate portion of the same plan. These are:

1. The Kindergarten, for the youngest children, who are not to use books.
2. The Primary School, for children just commencing the use of books.
3. The Preparatory School, introductory to the higher,
4. The Collegiate School, embracing a course of four years,
5. The Professional School, to prepare a woman for all domestic duties and for a self-supporting profession.''[38]

It is to be noted that both extremes of this ladder represented the new, for the Kindergarten movement may scarcely be said to have gained its stride by 1870, although well advanced by the efforts of Elizabeth Peabody in Boston.[39] ''In regard to the course of study in the collegiate department,'' Miss Beecher went on to say, ''there shall be as great an amount as is required in any of our colleges, yet only a few studies carried to so great an extent as in many sciences pursued by men. But there should be a very much greater variety, together with an accuracy and thoroughness that colleges rarely secure. And all should have reference to women's profession and not to the professions of men. Much in this department at first must be experimental, having in view the ideal indicated.''[40]

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[37] Beecher, C. E.: *Woman's Profession as Mother and Educator,* (1872).

[38] Beecher, C. E.: *Woman's Profession as Mother and Educator,* 88.

[39] Graves: *A History of Education,* III, 247–248.

The following May (1871), Miss Beecher invited the ladies of Hartford to the Calisthenic Hall of the Hartford Female Seminary to listen to an address which was intended to enlist their interest and influence in devising and executing plans for the proper education of the daughters of the city. Miss Beecher spoke at this time as the Secretary and General Agent of the American Women's Educational Association and her aim was to inspire her listeners to aid in obtaining sufficient funds to endow two teacherships of the proposed Women's University, the Association to provide buildings and money for the Normal and Health departments. One is amazed at the supreme optimism of this woman, when one recalls the unsuccessful attempts to endow the Milwaukee and Dubuque institutions. But her faith was magnificent. In this case, she had even planned for the ''two highly educated ladies [who] would become the Principals and [for] Dr. Neftel and Dr. Taylor who had engaged to act as superintending physicians''[41] Visioning the spread of universities like the one she was planning, she drew up a blank petition which might be used in every state:

''To the honorable members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of—

''We, the undersigned, ladies of the State of ————, and gentlemen citizens of the same, respectfully petition, that an appropriation be made to endow one department of a Woman's University under the charge of the Trustees of — Seminary, the object of which shall be to train school-teachers and housekeepers in all that relates to health in schools and families, and that this endowment be made equal to what has been or may be given to endow scientific schools for young men; and also that . . . the citizens of the place given an equal sum to promote the scientific and practical training of women for their distinctive professions.''[42]

When these addresses were published in one volume in 1872, Miss Beecher included a note to her former pupils and personal friends which said: "If this enterprise succeeds in Connecticut its example will be followed in other States, and this volume is sent to many pupils and personal friends that they may cooperate in the several ways suggested."[43] Apparently, however, nothing came of this decade of planning on Miss Beecher's part. No evidence has been found to indicate that anything further was done and Miss Beecher herself mentions it no more. Her *Educational Reminiscences,* written in 1874, seem to indicate the complete abandonment of the plan. She writes: "Since the formation of this Association, more than twenty colleges and professional schools have been opened to women, so that all women of the higher grades of intellect, or who wish to enter men's professions, are amply provided with all needed advantages."[44]

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[40] Beecher, C. E.: *Woman's Profession as Mother and Educator*, 99.
[41] *Ibid.*, 164–165.
[42] *Ibid.*, 201.

One hesitates to say that Catharine Beecher had succumbed to discouragement and had relinquished her great plan, because such a conclusion seems so out of keeping with her character, yet this statement in her *Reminiscences* is equally unrepresentative of all her formerly expressed ideas. In 1870 she had said most decidedly: "I regard the effort to introduce women into colleges for young men as very undersirable, and for many reasons."

Of the infant women's colleges, she was equally disapproving. She said at this same time:

"not a single institution has been founded which includes in its curriculum the course of practical training that prepares a woman for the complicated responsibilities . . . included in her profession. The Mount Holyoke plan does not even aim at anything of this kind, but is only a method of economy to lessen expenditures. Vassar College has no endowment to support teachers, and so its tuition fees far exceed those of colleges for men. Nor is the industrial training of women for her distinctive profession any part of its aim, while the largest portion of the income of that institution goes for the support of men instead of women teachers, five out of seven professors being men."[45]

Regarding Smith College, she said: "although our country abounds with women of culture and wisdom who have had great experience in organizing female institutions, as yet not one has been invited to become a member of the Board of Trustees, or one of the future Faculty, to supervise the use of the large funds bestowed by a woman for the education of her sex.''[46] In view of these opinions, expressed in such unequivocal terms, one is seemingly without an explanation for Catharine's statement that women ''are amply provided with all needed advantages.'' Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that by this time all hope of transforming the Hartford Female Seminary into her ideal Woman's University had vanished.

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[43] *Ibid.*, 203.
[44] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences*, 263.
[45] Beecher, C. E.: *Woman's Profession as Mother and Educator,* 35.

Whatever the real cause, Miss Beecher wrote in 1874 that the ''Association has changed its plans, and is now aiming to secure the proper training of the daughters of the industrial classes for their future duties as housekeepers, wives, mothers, nurses of infancy and the sick, and also all the domestic helpers needed in these various departments, and as far as practicable to do this in connection with our common schools. To this end the following Committees are formed:

1. A Committee to prepare a course of study and training and the text-books suited to the objects proposed.

2. A Committee of correspondence to secure the organization of influential women in every State, to cooperate by introducing the method of training and text-books into both private and public schools. . .''[47]

Miss Beecher continued to be interested in this practical education of the industrial classes until the close of her life, four years later.

Subsequent to Catharine's severance of relations with Milwaukee College, she was twice directly connected with educational institutions. The first of these was Dio Lewis's Family School for young Ladies, at Lexington, Massachusetts. Dr. Lewis had successfully operated his Boston Normal Institute for Physical Education, since 1861, and, in 1862, had published his *New Gymnastics* which, according to his biographer, was ''considered epoch-making.''[48] Many people came to take his movement cure while he was conducting his school, winters in Boston and summers in Lexington.[49] In May of 1864, Dr. Lewis purchased the Lexington House, which he intended fitting up for men and women who wanted the movement cure;[50] and here, on October 1, 1864, he opened his school, limiting his pupils to thirty who had broken down at other schools.[51] The families represented in the school were among the most intelligent in New England.[52] In the catalogue of 1866 we read:

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[46] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences,* 198–199.
[47] *Ibid.,* 263–264.
[48] Eastman, M. F.: *The Biography of Dio Lewis,* 80.

"Believing that Miss Catharine E. Beecher is prepared to give girls instructions of vital importance, which they could obtain from no other sources, we invited her to join our teachers' corps, and assist us in training those committed to our care in the duties of a Christian womanhood. She has consented and will give a course of instruction in the ethics of home life." Her official position was teacher of "Domestic Economy and the Laws of Health."

The school was headed by Theodore D. Weld, recently of an Eaglewood, N. J., school, and his wife, Angelina Grimké Weld, who assumed the department of history. Curious that Catharine should be associated with these two after all these years,—Theodore, whom she had known in Cincinnati when he was at Lane, and Angelina with whom she had been friendly in Philadelphia, but afterwards had engaged in a battle of printed words over the slavery question.[53]

The plan of this school was to secure a symmetrical development of body, mind and heart; to give due attention to physical and social culture, while providing thorough instruction in Literature, Art, Science and Morals. The course of study extended over four years and while it is difficult to tell much from the name of a subject, the curriculum, with one or two exceptions, sounds much like that of the twentieth century high school. The subjects of the senior year in 1866 were: Logic, Mental Science, Moral Science, English, Philology, etc., Rhetoric, Critical Study of Standard English Authors, Astronomy, Civil Government and

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[49] *Ibid.*, 89.

[50] *Boston Daily Journal*, May 7, 1864.

[51] Eastman: *The Biography of Dio Lewis*, 94.

[52] *Catalogue* of 1866.

[53] Beecher, C. E.: *An Essay on Slavery and Abolitionism*, 1837; Greve: *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, 393; Birney: *The Grimké Sisters*, 106.

U. S. Constitution, Anatomy, Physiology, and Hygiene, Elective-Latin, Greek, French, and German.[54] The "New Gymnastics" were taught to every member of the school, and practiced daily by all, from an hour to an hour and a half, while dancing was introduced three or four evenings of each week.[55] The pupils retired at half past eight, wore no close dress, kept their extremities warm with flannels and strong shoes, ate plain food, and enjoyed many amusing games and much hearty laughter.[56] Catharine Beecher must have found much to suit her tastes in this school. And yet, as neither her name nor her subject is listed in the catalogue of 1867, she must have remained just the one year.

Dio Lewis's school enjoyed much success. The *Boston Post* of June 6, 1867, spoke of it as "rapidly becoming one of the most famous—as it is one of the best—in the country." At the anniversary exercises this June, extra trains were run from Boston[57] and a reporter found it "refreshing to see such health; their [the girls] red cheeks, bright eyes and general appearance of healthfulness contrasted pleasantly with the pale faces of the visitors."[58]

In consequence of actual events, it is interesting to read this paragraph in Dio Lewis's catalogue of 1866: "Our school building has never been on fire, and, indeed, there has not been a fire in the village for many years. Notwithstanding this, we have taken precautions against the possible occurrence of such a calamity." On September 7, 1867, the school was completely destroyed by fire,[59] even to family wardrobes.[60] The school opened in a summer hotel at Spy Pond, five miles from Boston, twenty days after the fire, but accommodations were limited and the school continued only one year.[61] Dr. Lewis intended to rebuild, but heavy losses and other circumstances obliged him to abandon the project.[62]

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[54] *Catalogue* of 1866.
[55] Dio Lewis: *Our Girls*, 357.
[56] *Ibid.*, 360.
[57] *Boston Daily Advertiser*, June 4, 1867.
[58] *Ibid.*, June 6, 1867.
[59] *The Congregationalist*, September 12, 1867.
[60] Eastman, M. F.: *The Biography of Dio Lewis*, 117.
[61] *Ibid.*, 118.
[62] *Ibid.*, 119.

The other institution with which Catharine Beecher was associated during the last decade of her life was the Hartford Female Seminary. On August 20, 1870, the following notice appeared in the *Hartford Daily Courant:*

"The Hartford Female Seminary."

"The friends of the Hartford Female Seminary are informed that the trustees have engaged Miss Catharine E. Beecher as Principal. She will select teachers of the highest qualifications, and superintend the instruction and management as she has repeatedly done in several successful institutions at the West.

"In this she will be aided by Mrs. H. B. Stowe, as soon as she has completed certain literary engagements. Professor Stowe also will assist by lectures on Biblical literature, in connection with Sacred and Profane History. It is expected also that a well-known popular teacher will be associated with Miss Beecher in the superintendence of the institution.

"The Primary Department will be under the charge of Miss Rose, a successful teacher of this city, and Mrs. Reed will continue in charge of the boarding house.

"The course of study will be much the same as in past time, and such as is established by the best institutions. In addition, opportunities will be given for studies more directly connected with woman's profession as educator, nurse and housekeeper.

"Miss Beecher, having been restored to perfect health, after more than twenty years of debility, is desirous to introduce a course of study and methods of training which will enable women, and especially school teachers, to regain lost health, save children from feeble constitutions, and promote general health in the communities where they reside.

"The terms of board and tuition remain unaltered, and the time for opening the fall term will shortly appear in the newspapers. Inquiries may be addressed to Mrs. M. Reed, Hartford Female Seminary.

"The former pupils and friends of the Seminary are requested to secure a notice of this in the papers of their vicinity."

This return of Miss Beecher to the institution she had done so much for was very brief. She was appointed Principal in

August, 1870,[63] opened the Seminary on September 14,[64] and resigned the following March,[65] after securing her cousin, Miss A. M. Beecher, to take her place. This brief contact with what was probably a typical school for young ladies, deepened her conviction regarding the unfair difference between the lot of the professor in a man's college and that of a teacher or directress of a woman's seminary. She found at the Hartford Female Seminary forty-four branches listed in the course of study,—spelling, reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, higher arithmetic, algebra, history of the U. S., physiology, physical geography, geometry, natural philosophy, chemistry, astronomy, mental philosophy, Butler's Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion, aesthetics, English literature, history of Greece, history of Rome, philology, ancient and modern history, composition, natural history, history of England, history of France, botany, geology, rhetoric, trigonometry, moral philosophy, history of literature, history of arts and sciences, Latin, Greek, French, German, Italian, Spanish, drawing, painting in water-colours, painting in oil, vocal music, and gymnastics. And for all these she was responsible to select teachers, to examine text-books, to decide on the modes of teaching, and to see that all departments were administered properly. Speaking of this situation in December, 1870, Miss Beecher said:

"In arranging classes in so many branches, the teachers, on an average, must teach four or five hours a day, and have charge of six or seven classes in nearly as many different studies. Though tuition charges have been larger than young men pay in colleges, I could not retain the best teachers and furnish apparatus and advantages needed, only by using the whole income except what I paid for my own board and my very economical personal expenses. And now, the income from one hundred pupils would not save me from embarrassing debt had I not other resources. Neither Mrs. Stowe, nor myself, nor any of the most highly qualified ladies of our country, could take charge of such an institution without a sacrifice of an income counting by thou-

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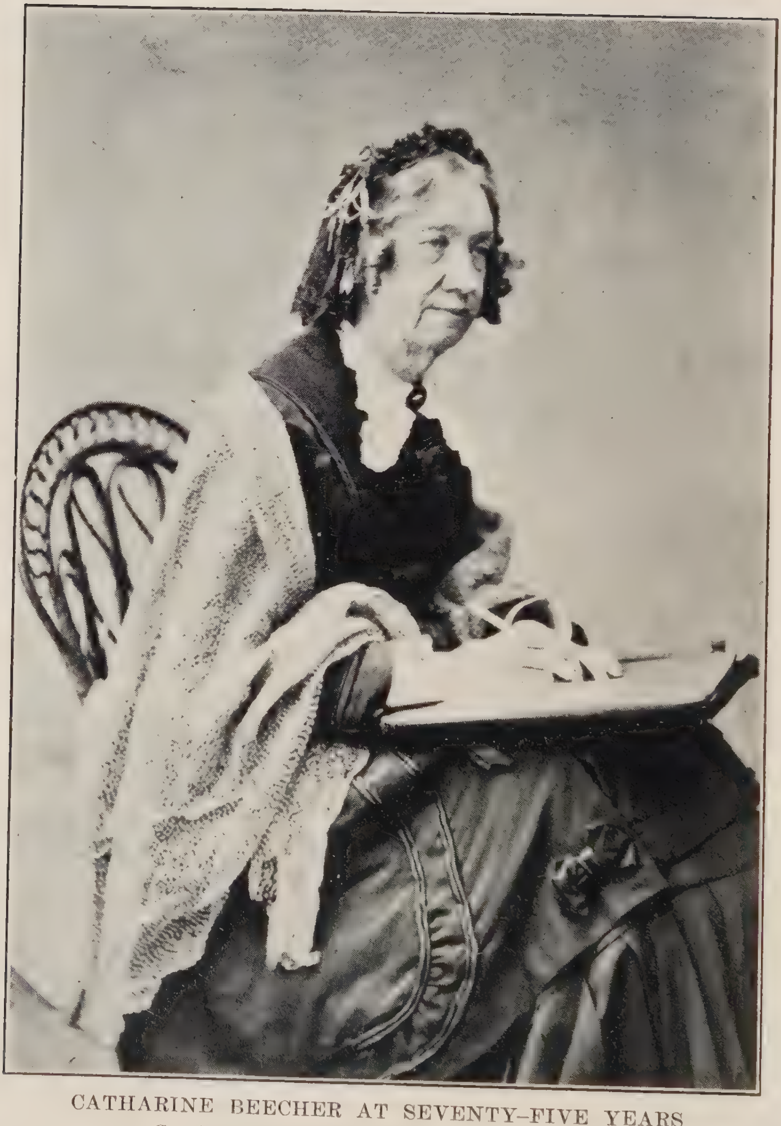
[63] *MS.* Record of Secretary and Treasurer, [Conn. Hist. Soc.].

[64] *Hartford Daily Courant,* September 1, 1870.

[65] *MS.* Record of Secretary and Treasurer.



CATHARINE BEECHER AT SEVENTY–FIVE YEARS

Courtesy of Mrs. Kent Hamilton, of Toledo, Ohio sands. Will not a time come when ladies, the most highly qualified to educate their own sex, shall receive such advantages and compensation for these duties as now are exclusively given to men?''[66]

During the few months of her stay, however, Miss Beecher managed the school as best she could under these undesirable conditions, for it had been suggested to her that she make as few changes as possible. It is probable that her leadership was more or less nominal at this time and her actual teaching at a minimum. A graduate of the class of 1871 writes: ''As I remember she taught no classes, but lectured to the young ladies as to their health and behavior;''[67] and another pupil in the Seminary at the time recalls some of her admonitions concerning ladylike behavior: ''young ladies must never stop to gaze in store windows,'' ''young ladies must always move in curves'' and ''have all buttons on.''

This last admonition left an impression on the pupil because Miss Beecher herself did not always observe it.[68] Two pupils recall the daily calisthenics in which the girls sang an accompaniment to the exercises. The memory of the costume, too, has persisted in the minds of these girls. It consisted of a white apron bound with green and a bandeau of artificial laurel on the head.[69] We can visualize the charming scene as the young ladies, garbed in this picturesque costume, moved dimpled arms through graceful arcs and advanced now one and now the other daintily shod foot from beneath voluminous skirts. We note that the girls of '70 and '71 were not much different from those of today, for they were a little amused at this ancient lady who talked on manners and sang with quavering voice, to her own accompaniment, her ancient repertory of songs. Such is the fate of age at the hands of youth!

The descriptions of her appearance at this time, gleaned from those who knew her, portray her as small, thin and sprightly for her age. She has been variously pictured as ''plain looking, large features, poor complexion, thin gray hair'' and as ''quite homely, eyes blue, hair only partly gray, evidently brown in youth." All recall the corkscrew curls that hung at both sides of her face.[70] The photograph, taken about this time, corroborated these memories as well as those of another who recalled that "her face showed much strength of character and that it lighted up when she was talking or listening."[71]

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[66] Beecher, C. E.: *Woman's Profession,* 41–42.
[67] *MS.* Letter of F. P. Curtis, January 8, 1930.
[68] Mrs. Hart, December, 1930.
[69] Reminiscences of Mrs. Hart and Mrs. Curtis.

It would undoubtedly have been better for the memory of Catharine Beecher if she had never attempted to restore the Hartford Female Seminary to its lost prestige, for the last records are connected with bickering over money. It is probable that the disagreement was precipitated by Miss Beecher's letter to one of the trustees in 1873:

"N. York 69 W. 38 St. March 14/73

"Mr. S. J. Andrews

"It is my intention to prepare a brief history of the H. F. Sem'y and its present conditions & claims. This I perhaps shall issue in short articles for the Courant. My aim will be to show the citizens of Hartford how unjustly they have treated their daughters in contrast to what they have done for their sons.

"Before I attempt this, I wish to obtain a copy of the agreement I made with the Trustees when I took charge of the Seminary & also Mr. Welsh's acct of financial matters while I was Principal."[72]

The Treasurer sent his record which stated that no agreement had been signed between the parties. The verbal understanding, according to his remembrance, being that Miss Beecher was to pay $800 rent and to make necessary repairs to the building. According to his accounts, Miss Beecher and Miss A. M. Beecher now owed the Trustees $1180.[73] This was entirely contrary to Miss Beecher's view which placed the Seminary in her debt to the extent of $648.72. In letters written to Mr. Andrews, April 8, 1873; to Mr. Welch, April 9, 1873; to Mr. Andrews, May 2, 1873; to Mary and Charlotte, June 10, 1873; to Mr. Welch again, August 11, 1873, Miss Beecher repeatedly told her side of the story, which was that she had paid, in the name of the Trustees, debts incurred by her predecessor and had installed a new furnace with the understanding that this money, too, would be refunded her. Her reason for pressing the matter of the debt at this time was the fact that her publisher had made an error in her account which had led her to spend more money than she had.[74] We can imagine the shock the following letter must have been to her:

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[70] *MS.* Letters of M. E. Barker, F. P. Curtis, H. B. Chapman, E. P. Knapp.

[71] *MS.* Letter from E. W. Farrar, 1930.

[72] *MS.* Letter of Catharine Beecher to S. J. Andrews, [Conn. Hist. Soc.].

[73] Record of Secretary and Treasurer, 1873, *MS.* [Conn. Hist. Soc.].

"Publishing House of J. B. Ford & Co
New York 7 May 1873.

"My dear Miss Beecher

"The trouble would seem to have arisen thus. When I sent you your account of Feb. 1872, you wanted it explained. I endorsed on the outside of the papers you sent back, a condensed statement, but it would seem that I was interrupted before I got through, or did it hastily, for I put all the money credited to you, and none of that debited to you—that which you had had during the year."[75] He credited her with $1379.23 when she really had a deficit of $34.76. On the strength of her supposed balance, she had incurred debts which she was now unable to pay but which she could settle if the Trustees of the Seminary paid her what she felt was justly owing. The evidence seems to show that she never received it. In her letter to Mr. Welch of August 11, 1873, she said:

"I believe those whose wives and daughters were thus benefitted by my labors, would not be satisfied to have the debt thus incurred rest upon me. Will you consult Mr. Philips and Mr. Andrews and advise me whether it is a case that should be publicly stated to the citizens of Hartford in the papers?"[76]

On September 19 she wrote Mr. Welch: "It will be necessary for me to take some decided steps very soon for I must leave in a few days and wish to have all my debts paid first."[77] November 1, she wrote the same thing,[78] and again on November 21.

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[74] *MS.* Letters, [Conn. Hist. Soc.].
[75] *MS.* Letter, [Conn. Hist. Soc.].
[76] *MS.* Letter, [Conn. Hist. Soc.].
[77] *MS.* Letter, [Conn. Hist. Soc.].
[78] *MS.* Letter, [Conn. Hist. Soc.].

"83 Trumbull St Nov 21/73

"Mr. Geo. Welch

"I am to spend the winter with brother James at Poughkeepsie and leave next Tuesday.

"I hope before that time a quorum of the Trustees will meet & settle my affairs, & in such a way that when the history of my educational efforts & expenditures comes before the public, as it will ere long, there will be nothing to regret by any party concerned in this particular case."[79]

The next evidence we have regarding the subject is in a letter of Miss Beecher to Rev. Mr. Andrews of Hartford under date of May 10, 1875, in which she reviews the whole story and indicates that her own debts in Hartford are still unpaid. Only two additional records of the debt question have been found. The first is another letter to Mr. Welch:

"Hartford Oct 9/77

"Mr. George Welch

"Dear Sir

"I have come here with the hope that my affairs with the Trustees of the H. Sem'y may be so settled that a fair statement will relieve all concerned from imputations of any kind of dishonorable measures.

"As it was your office to make records of my agreement with the Trustees I ask for a copy of those records, & also your statement of the mode by which the Trustees can be honorably freed from obligation to pay me for the furnace which by their contract they promised to provide.

"Not only my time & labor have been consecrated to the service of my former pupils but my income was spent for their best interests as I supposed. For this reason I shall probably ask their sympathy & aid to save me from any necessity of neglecting the claims of creditors who have trusted to my honesty, unless what is due me by the Trustees of the Seminary is paid."[80]

The second is a letter of November 28, 1877, from John Hooker, Counselor at Law and Catharine's brother-in-law, to Mr. George Welch, stating that the former had received a note from Miss Catharine Beecher and that, as he knew nothing of the business, "having never heard of it before," he wishes Mr. Welch to call at his office.[81]

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[79] *MS.* Letter, [Conn. Hist. Soc.].

[80] *MS.* Letter, [Conn. Hist. Soc.].

At this point the story abruptly stops. Did Catharine Beecher receive her $648.72, or did she and her Hartford creditors remain unpaid? Had she really ever had a claim against the trustees of the Seminary? The answers to these questions still lie hidden in the dusty secret-chests of the past, perhaps never to be brought forth. One is left with only speculation as a meager substitute for truth.

The Hartford Female Seminary ended its existence in 1888.[82] In its later years it found itself competing unsuccessfully with the public high school.[83] Catharine was always convinced, however, that she had restored its former prosperity by her short sojourn there in 1870.[84]

During the later years of her life, her literary efforts absorbed a considerable part of Catharine Beecher's life. During a period of nineteen years, 1855–1874, she published ten books and wrote numerous articles for the magazines and circulars for the American Women's Educational Association. Most of these dealt with her favorite themes of woman's profession and woman's health.

In addition to her literary labors and her services in the schools at Lexington and Hartford, Miss Beecher interested herself in other affairs. The *Connecticut Courant* of September 25, 1869, noted a visit of hers, together with Professor and Mrs. Stowe, to the reform school in Rhode Island. In the spring of 1872 she discussed in the public press the necessity for a pure water supply. The *Hartford Daily Courant* of April 6, 1872, printed her suggestions to the pupils of the Hartford Female Seminary relative to this end. She advised them to form committees which would call daily on the Mayor, the water commissioners and the editors of the papers until they saw to the improvement of the system. She told them she had used this method before: "Years ago, when I had charge of the Seminary,

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[81] *MS.* Letter, [Conn. Hist. Soc.].

[82] *Hartford Female Seminary Reunion* (1892); Burpee: *History of Hartford,* 310.

[83] Reminiscences of former pupils.

[84] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences,* 191.

I sent repeatedly and in vain to a tinner to repair our furnace. I then sent a committee of my pupils who informed him that every hour through every day a similar committee would wait on him till the furnace was fixed. In fifteeen minutes the tinner appeared with tools and smiles, and the work was done.''

In June of 1872, Miss Beecher paid a short visit to the home of Rev. George Fisher in Stockport, N. Y. Mr. Fisher was the nephew of Miss Beecher's fiancé, Professor Alexander Metcalf Fisher, and had in his possession the relics of the Professor. It is said, that on the occasion of this visit, Miss Beecher spent the time alone in the guest room with the articles belonging to her lost lover and destroyed many of the relics.[85] This would account for the fact that Catharine Beecher's name is nowhere mentioned in any of the preserved letters of Alexander Metcalf Fisher though some of them were written to his parents during the time he knew her.[86]

Catharine Beecher did not entirely exclude passing events from her range of vision during the last decade of her life, although now, as always before, her best thoughts and efforts were directed towards solving the problems of her sex. In November of 1872, we find her aiming to protect the citizens of Hartford against the famous Victoria C. Woodhull.[87] Miss Beecher had not always been so violently opposed to the notorious lady. At one time she had been almost convinced by her enamored half-sister, Isabella Beecher Hooker, that Mrs. Woodhull was a virtuous woman holding a wrong social theory, and, armed with a letter of introduction from Mrs. Hooker, had called on the ''Terrible Siren'' to set her straight on marriage.[88] The result may be inferred from the fact that in 1872 Miss Beecher was indignantly asking the citizens of Hartford if they intended to patronize such a person. They apparently did—seven hundred of them.[89] Again in 1874, when the Beecher-Tilton scandal riveted the attention of the entire Beecher clan as well as that of the country's reading public, the eldest Beecher was not aloof from the matter. Her participation, however, was from "a shivering sense of danger to every delicate and pure woman,"[90] and as she enacted no rôle in the drama itself, the matter is of no further interest to us here.

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[85] Diary of Rev. George Fisher and rem. of his wife and son, [courtesy of Dr. Willard J. Fisher].

[86] A. M. Fisher Papers, [Yale University Library].

[87] Sachs, E.: *The Terrible Siren*, 124–125.

[88] Harper, I. H.: *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, I, 378.

[89] Sachs, E.: *The Terrible Siren*, 124–125.

From about 1875 to 1877, Catharine lived with her brother Edward, who had retired to Brooklyn. Here, though well passed the allotted span of three-score and ten, she was ever active. She organized the Twenty-Third Ward Charity, an enterprise managed by ladies, and conducted upon principles calculated to encourage the practice of economy in the households of the wealthy, and to afford temporary relief to those in distress without thereby countenancing pauperism. During these years she attended many entertainments given by the neighborhood musical and social societies in a little hall around the corner, but she loved best to listen to profound dissertations, and would enter upon the discussion of deep subjects with evident relish.[91]

In the spring of 1877 Catharine moved to her half-brother's, Thomas K. Beecher's, in Elmira, N. Y., saying that she expected to make her home there and to live out the rest of her life and die there.[92] One attraction in this city was the water cure of Mrs. Dr. Gleason, to which Catharine had made many former pilgrimages. Miss Beecher was now seventy-seven years old, somewhat bowed and feeble, with a voice which was weak and quavering. One who was then a child in Thomas K's family recalls, however, that she spoke easily and never had difficulty in finding words to express herself.[93] Not that Catharine was content to rest now on her past honors. During the year 1877–1878, she gave a number of lectures on "Adaptation of Woman's Education to Home Life" at Elmira College.[94] In a letter to her publishers, dated April 26, 1878, she said:

"I am now trying to have our common schools do more to educate woman for her proper business as housekeeper and healthkeeper, and for this I am consulting various influential friends of education."

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[90] *N. Y. Daily Tribune,* August 7, 1874.
[91] *Harpers Bazar,* June 8, 1878; *Elmira Daily Advertiser,* May 14, 1878.
[92] *Elmira Daily Advertiser,* May 14, 1878.
[93] *MS.* Letter of E. W. Farrar, October 17, 1930.
[94] *Catalogue,* 1877–1878.

In the same letter she speaks of a friend, saying: "——— is in great want of something to do, as am I also, both of us now having good health and good spirits."[95] Writing again May 8, . . . she spoke earnestly of her plans, and of her desire to have the facts relating to the science of common life, as conscientiously set forth in her books, made a part of the curriculum of the common schools. Even at this time she was planning an extended tour for the improvement of common school education among the working classes, desiring particularly that girls should be thoroughly informed with regard to the principles of physiology and chemistry, so that they might be better fitted for practical life and work. "My plan," her letter is quoted as saying, "is to consult the heads of women's institutions and the superintendents of common schools this summer, and see if what ought to be done can be done. I am corresponding with the best leaders of popular education in this vicinity, and am going to Philadelphia and New Jersey to see others, and am forming women's committees to cooperate. I hope to be in Philadelphia in about ten days."[96]

In ten days, however, Catharine Beecher was not in Philadelphia, for on Friday, May 10, 1878, only two days after these plans were written to Harpers, she was stricken with apoplexy at about five o'clock in the afternoon.

She became immediately unconscious and at noon on Sunday, May 12, she ceased from her labors, full of years and honors. On Wednesday, May 15, she was laid to rest in Woodlawn Cemetery in Elmira, where she still sleeps close by her brother Thomas. At the services which followed in Park Church, Edward Beecher spoke feelingly of Catharine's life,[97] he being the person who knew her most intimately.

Her death was widely noted. A notice appeared in the newspapers of Boston, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, Hartford, Brooklyn, New York and, of course, Elmira, and probably in many other cities.[98] Editorials appeared in Boston, Hartford, Elmira and Brooklyn, all proceeding, as such editorials do, to heap encomiums of praise upon the departed one. The *Boston Daily Advertiser* said of her: "It has been the fortune of very few women in this country to exercise a degree of influence at all comparable with that of Catharine Beecher."[99] The *Hartford Daily Courant* devoted two long columns to the subject saying among a great many other things that Miss Beecher was "a notable figure among the women of her time," . . . that she was "a pioneer in female education," that she was "a whole Social Science Association in permanent session" and finally that she was "a woman of strong intellectual fibre, unbounded benevolence, and a heart over-flowing with love of humanity."[100] The *Elmira Daily Advertiser* said: "Of no one could it be more truly written that their works do follow them."[101]

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[95] *Harper's Bazar,* June 8, 1878, 371–373.
[96] *Harper's Bazar,* June 8, 1878, 371–373.
[97] *Elmira Daily Advertiser,* May 15, 1878.

This was a peculiarly appropriate remark to come from Elmira, because as short a time ago as May 4, the columns of this same newspaper had carried Catharine Beecher's Appeal to the Christian Women of Elmira. She wrote:

"To the Christian Women of Elmira.

"The President of the Board of Education states that there are in this city one thousand seven hundred and nineteen children of legal school age who attend no school, most of whom it is fair to suppose are growing up to ignorance and vice. Moreover, it is no part of our school system to train boys and girls for any business by which to earn a livelihood.

"In Syracuse the Christian women remedy this defect by sewing schools, and they are allowed to use the public school buildings for this purpose certain hours each week, and where the ladies instruct, and very successfully too, all who will come, to sew, fit garments and perform other family work. . . . Our school houses are now over-crowded to the injury of both mind and body, and can not half-day schools be instituted so that benevolent ladies can aid in training the most neglected ones to industry and usefulness? Are there not many young ladies in our churches who would gladly learn by experience how blessed it is to care for the neglected children whom our Lord has commended to the special love and labor of His true followers? . . ."

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[98] *Boston Daily Advertiser*, May 13, 1878; *Boston Post*, May 13, 1878; *Evening Wisconsin*, May 13, 1878; *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, May 15, 1878; *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, May 13, 1878; *Hartford Daily Courant*, May 13, 1878; *Harper's Bazar*, June 8, 1878; *Brooklyn Union-Argus*, May 11, 1878; *N. Y. World*, May 11, 1878; *Elmira Daily Advertiser*, May 13, 1878.

[99] May 13, 1878.

[100] May 14, 1878.

[101] May 14, 1878.

The day following Miss Beecher's death, the editor of the newspaper referred to this appeal as "Miss Beecher's Legacy."

"These words—of now sacred importance, since the writer's suddent death—are a precious legacy to you, oh! generous and energetic Christian Women of Elmira. Will you not act upon them? As the mantle of Elijah was promised to Elisha if he should see him depart, her mantle of usefulness, and the great good accomplished by the earnest life of Catharine Beecher, shall live anew in our hearts, if you will but heed her last plea . . . when shall the first industrial or evening school become a reality? The children of neglect and poverty cry unto you with outstretched hands and pleading eyes for something to do. Shall they plead in vain? The women of Elmira were not backward, when a Soldiers Aid Society was needed. A Children's Aid Society is needed now. Where are the noble women to start it?"

While her name does not appear, it looks as if the following advertisement had some connection with Catharine's plea of May 4, and the editor's appeal of May 13:

"The Ladies' Benevolent Aid Society opens its industrial school this afternoon from 2 to 5 o'clock, at Temperance Headquarters. Its design in part is to teach girls to sew and put needy persons in a way to earn their own clothing. Donations of good second hand clothing or of goods not made up, will be most acceptable. The ladies of the City are earnestly requested to co-operate in this undertaking. Go today and learn how efficient and sensible is the policy that governs the new industrial school."

Catharine Beecher had passed on. Her active brain, always so busy concocting plans for some betterment or other, was quiet at last. Her unfinished tasks were left in other hands,—hands rendered more capable and more dexterous through her efforts. Her restless spirit had discarded its tired prison and had flown perhaps to that blessed world that was so real to her. Not only to the women of Elmira did she leave a legacy, but to all men,—a legacy of inspiration, of vision, of duty to give all of oneself, without stint, to the ever-beckoning task of making the world a little better for our brief sojourn in it.

CHAPTER XI

APPRECIATION

The central figure of a picture stands out with cameo-like distinctness or fades into pale ineffectuality, depending upon the character of its background. The patriarch of the forest gains dignity and majesty by contrast with its lesser brothers; the slim fingers of steel with which urban America is attempting to clutch an elusive heaven make pygmies of their shorter neighbors. Thus a man's dominance or recession in a given age depends as much upon the philosophy and the people of his time as upon his own intrinsic worth. If this be the case, it is evident that we must look beyond the woman whose career we have been following, to peer into those other faces in the background and read there the mirrored thoughts and feelings of an epic century.

In our picture, dreamy-eyed poets, firm-chinned reformers, broad-browed romance-makers, and essayists mingle with fiery-eyed agitators, majestic-headed orators and calm-visaged philanthropists. Truly a noble company of Americans marched through the nineteenth century with Catharine Beecher. The oratory of Edward Everett, Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, and the incomparable Daniel Webster stirred into fever heat or charmed into immovability great audiences. Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, and Holmes formed a mighty septet, whose magic pens wrote their country for all time into the annals of the world's literature. William Lloyd Garrison jolted the nation out of its comfortable placidity and then fed and encouraged the restlessness he produced. An Anthony, a Stanton, a Stone rubbed salt upon already-exposed nerve-ends and thus helped to sustain the prevalent nervous tension. Of Catharine's own family, two names were on every man's lips, namely, Harriet Beecher Stowe and Henry Ward Beecher,—the one as the writer of the book which is said to have outsold any other book ever written by an American,[1] and the other as the greatest pulpit orator of anti-slavery days.[2] All these were Catharine Beecher's contemporaries in the political and literary arena, and were one to measure her light against these burning torches of her age, it would indeed seem dim.

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[1] Halleck: *Hist. of American Literature,* 172.

But it is entirely inappropriate and unfair to match her against opponents, whose weapons she did not use, whose language she did not speak and in whose quarrels with civilization she was almost totally uninterested. Her medium was neither the liquid fire of the orator, nor the mystic charm of the novelist. She made no psychological play upon overwrought emotions, nor did she lure with the sheer beauty of word and rhythm. Instead, she brought to bear the cold light of reason and common sense upon a subject, the drabness of which made sharp contrast with the vivid questions of slavery, temperance, and suffrage. Unsung and unglorified was the field of education, whose laborers lay the foundation stones of the world's religious, social and political structure. In the foreground of this field, Catharine Beecher holds her place firmly and effectually.

When Catharine Beecher entered her life's profession in 1823, the education of girls beyond the rudiments was an established fact, the means usually being the female seminary. Here the indigestible fare of brief courses in a dozen or more different subjects well garnished with accomplishments was fed to a floating clientele. The result was as unsatisfactory as one might expect, and critics were not wanting.[3] Of these Catharine Beecher was one of the most insistent, issuing in 1827 her first mild challenge, and following it in 1829 with the more commanding one contained in her *Suggestions Respecting Improvements in Education.* In it Miss Beecher made sweeping objections to purpose, method, content, organization, and mode of support of the prevalent type of female schools, and presented as a substitute a school which should enjoy the advantages of the colleges for young men.[4] By these she meant chiefly a regular course of study, including the "higher branches," "division of labor" in the faculty, adequate books and apparatus, and permanency through endowment. Nor did Miss Beecher preach from precept alone, for her Female Seminary at Hartford exemplified many of the improvements she advocated and she strove, albeit unsuccessfully, to obtain the coveted endowment.[5] She did not lay claim to undue originality in her criticisms, giving generous credit to other laborers in the field who might be acting on the same feelings and principles,[6] but she did proclaim her personal responsibility for any procedures in her school, since she was entirely ignorant of the methods others were using.[7]

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[2] *Ibid.*, 169.

[3] Woody: *A Hist. of Women's Education in the U. S.*, II, 138.

[4] Beecher, C. E.: *Suggestions Respecting Improvement in Education*, 19, 70.

Catharine Beecher was, it is true, neither alone nor first among those women who were striving to provide better educational facilities for girls. Ten years previously, Emma Willard, now Principal of Troy Female Seminary, had made her "Address to the Public," embodying her "plans for improving female education,"[8] in which she, too, had presented "Defects in the Present Mode of Female Education" and an ideal "Sketch of a Female Seminary." Driven to her task by a sense of the unfair discrimination against girls in the matter of education, she, too, held up for inspection the weaknesses in the existing schools and suggested improvements very much like those of Catharine Beecher, minus the latter's dominant idea of a special faculty organization similar to that of men's colleges. Mrs. Willard, like Miss Beecher, put her theories into practice, causing quite a flutter of excitement among college professors and professional mathematicians, when it was reported that she was teaching algebra and even geometry.[9] The former, however, never advocated a college education for women.[10] At Ipswich were two women, one of whom at least was to be of imperishable memory. Zilpah Grant and Mary Lyon conducted a Seminary, where, too, the meatier subjects were emphasized and no frothy accomplishments marred the healthful fare. These renowned teachers realized, as did

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[5] See Chapter IV.

[6] Beecher, C. E.: *Suggestions Respecting Improvements in Education*, 37.

[7] Beecher, C. E.: *Educational Reminiscences*, 30.

[8] Willard: *An Address to the Public*, 1819.

[9] McDowell, Boyd: *Simeon Benjamin, Founder of Elmira College, 1930, Dr. Cowles, Tribute.*

[10] Woody: *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, II, 138.

Willard and Beecher, that one of the crying needs of their school was the assurance of its continuity through endowment, but they, like the others, could not attain their wish. So it was that Mary Lyon in 1834 opened her campaign for the establishment of a separate and independent institution, similar in character to the Ipswich Seminary, to be founded and sustained by the Christian Public,[11] which resulted on November 8, 1837, in the opening of Mount Holyoke Seminary to its students. In this realization of great hopes, Catharine Beecher had some part. In the fall of 1834, she had sent Miss Lyon a copy of the first draft of her address to the friends of education,—the same address which later developed into her "Address on Female Education" presented to the American Lyceum in 1835. This contained her tragic picture of America's untaught children and the need of teachers.[12] Its facts and arguments are reproduced in the circular issued from Northampton June 15, 1835, by the "Committee to Address the Public."[13] As one of the principal objects of the new Seminary was the preparation of female teachers,[14] such an appeal as that of Miss Beecher's ignorant millions must have had some effect. Moreover, Catharine's school, the Hartford Female Seminary, was one of the models Miss Lyon sought to emulate. In a little pamphlet written by Miss Lyon in September of 1835 "for the benefit of those who are making inquiries about the qualifications for admission into the Seminary, "she states that the standard of mental culture will be the same as that of the Hartford Female Seminary, the Ipswich Female Seminary and the Troy Female Seminary.[15]

These four women, Willard, Lyon, Grant, and Beecher, were all striving for the same end and in much the same fashion. Miss Grant disappeared first from the picture, retiring from active teaching in 1839, though never losing her interest in the work. Mrs. Willard devoted her life to the Troy institution and made its name the synonym for one of the best known and most highly praised of Female Seminaries; and Miss Lyon bequeathed her living spirit to the Mount Holyoke Seminary, leaving it a heritage that has carried it triumphantly through the years since 1849. Of the four pioneers, Catharine Beecher alone did not confine her efforts to a single institution, her restless energy and encompassing spirit seeking the whole country for its field of endeavor. In the opinion of Woody, from the standpoint of far-reaching activity, Catharine Beecher was preeminent.[16]

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[11] *Circular to the Friends and Patrons of Ipswich Seminary,* September 8, 1834 [Mount Holyoke College].

[12] See Chapter VI.

[13] Mount Holyoke College Archives.

[14] *Prospectus,* 1837.

[15] Mount Holyoke Archives.

To Miss Beecher, woman's need was not filled when an isolated institution was established here or there, even though its face bore all the approved features. Her mind swept past these points of concentrated effort to survey the problem in its broader aspect. All women, and through them, all men, were the objects of her solicitations. Her sex was staggering under a great wrong: society had failed to recognize woman's profession and consequently had neither prepared her for it, nor given her honorable and remunerative employment in it. To remedy this wrong, Catharine Beecher gave her life. She sacrificed all her time, all her income, her health, and every plan of wordly ease and comfort. In her own words, she says at seventy: "With sympathies that would naturally seek the ordinary lot of woman as the ideal of earthly happiness, with no natural taste for notoriety or public action, with tastes for art, and imaginative and quiet literary pursuits, I have . . . been doing what, as to personal taste, I least wished to do, and leaving undone what I should most like to do, I have been for many years a wanderer without a home, in delicate health and often baffled in favorite plans of usefulness."[17]

What more touching picture of self-sacrificing devotion to a great cause could one hope to see? Her life's history was one concentrated and unified effort to right the wrong her sex suffered. She established institutions both at the East and West for the intellectual training that prepared woman for the teacher's office. She wrote books on Domestic Economy to train woman as a housekeeper, and works on Physiology and Health to aid her in her duty as the nurse of infancy and the sick. In order to provide ‘‘honorable and remunerative employment,’’ she inaugurated the enterprise that became the Board of National Popular Education under Governor Slade, and she later organized the American Women’s Educational Association,—all this despite conservative repulse, which characterized her efforts as ‘‘visionary, impractical and unnecessary.’’[18] But she had a saving philosophy. Realizing that nothing is so hard to meet as long-established customs and habits of thought, she carried on, upheld by her irrepressible enthusiasm and by the thought of duty well done. In 1875, she wrote that she had ever been guided by the principle ‘‘that he, who commended the poor widow giving her last mite, and commanded the young man to sell and give to the poor,’’ had warranted her to spend all her earnings for the end for which he came—the salvation of the ignorant and sinful. So she spent all she received for the good of others.[19] This was literally true, for the income from her schools went back into improvements and the income from her books was used to further the cause of education, in several cases the copyright itself being transferred to the American Women’s Educational Association.

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[16] Woody: *A History of Women's Ed. in the U. S.*, I, 319.

[17] Beecher, C. E.: *Woman's Profession as Mother and Educator*, 86.

Of these various phases of her service, all bespeak her a place in the front rank of the march of progress. Her books on domestic economy attest their value by their popularity over a period of thirty years. Through her *Physiology and Calisthenics* and her visits to Public School Commissioners in this connection, teachers and school executives became health-conscious.[20] In the Board of National Popular Education was exemplified the first successful attempt to provide schools for the west on a large scale. The Western Education Society in Rochester, and one or two others elsewhere, had inaugurated a similar plan, but had abandoned it after a brief trial.[21] The Ladies’ Society of Boston, working in a more limited field, may be considered with the Board of National Popular Education, since it eventually affiliated with it.[22] The American Women's Educational Association was quite unique as to purpose and accomplishments. It was Catharine Beecher's greater self, called into being by her will, and proclaiming in every act her own great purpose. Judged from one achievement alone, it justified its being. Milwaukee-Downer College stands today a living child of this foundation, admitting her parentage by citing the Association first among the founders.[23] But Milwaukee-Downer College has more of the Association's blood in her than this brief notice would indicate, for the hand of Mary Mortimer, the Association's agent, guided the ship for many years and Catharine Beecher herself, besides contributing the school's original organization, safely carried it over more than one financial shoal.[24]

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[18] *Fourth Annual Report of A. W. E. A.*

[19] *MS.* Letter to Rev. Mr. Andrews, May 10, 1875, [Connecticut Historical Society].

[20] See Chapter X.

[21] Beecher, C. E.: *Essay on the Education of Female Teachers,* 30–31.

While contemporary opinion is not always a reliable barometer of a man's true force in an era, it is often a revealing searchlight, which presents the sharp contrasts of his personality, Catharine Beecher's acquaintance was nearly as wide as the country's limits. Through her large and well-known family and her pupils scattered in many states, she was at home in New England, the Middle West, and the West. Moreover she named her friends among what she would have called the "first families," for the private schools she founded and guided catered largely to such, and her family's social position made this stratum her natural one. We are, however, less surprised at the people she knew, than at the influence she exerted over them. Her success in calling men and women to her aid and so skillfully presenting her cause as to inspire them to push it for her, was remarkable. In Hartford, while yet but twenty-seven years of age, she persuaded some of the city fathers, against their own judgment, to subscribe to and erect a building for her Seminary.[25] In Milwaukee, such men as Increase A, Lapham and John H. Tweedy rallied to her cause,[26] and at Dubuque, Quincy, and Burlington, the city's outstanding men of business and church responded to her appeal. Of course, her appearance in the Northwest was made at the most opportune of moments, when sentiment favorable to improved educational facilities had reached the necessary degree of ripeness. Perhaps any other spokesman with as feasible a plan would have met with equal cordiality. The fact remains, however, that Catharine Beecher chose her time with perfect certainty of its opportuneness, a choice which adds to, rather than detracts from the credit due her.

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[22] See Chapter VI.

[23] *Milwaukee-Downer Catalogue*, 1930–31.

[24] See Chapter VII.

[25] See Chapter IV.

[26] See Chapter VII.

William Slade, ex-Governor of Vermont, moved by her addresses, assumed leadership of her enterprise for educating the West.[27] Julian Sturtevant, President of Illinois College, organized at her request a committee at Jacksonville and secured for her an agent.[28] William McGuffy, of Cincinnati College, asked her aid in preparing his Eclectic Readers.[29] During the summer of 1847, Horace Mann chose Miss Beecher as one of eight teachers whom he judged ''highly competent to give evidence on so important a subject,—competent from their science and . . . from their freedom from any motive to overstate facts, or to deduce inferences too broad for the premises on which they are founded. In fine, the circular was sent to persons whose elevated character, and whose extended personal acquaintance with the subject-matter on which they testify, place them above denial, cavil, or suspicion.''[30] The subject was the possibility of the common school to produce children, who would become the blessing and honor rather than the bane and scandal of society. Of the eight chosen by Mr. Mann as most capable of answering his questions, Miss Beecher was the only woman. The board of Controllers of the Public Schools of the cities in which Miss Beecher preached health for children in 1856 considered the message and its exponent of such importance as to warrant special meetings and a half-day session in the schools. The School Commissioners of Baltimore even passed a resolution testifying their regards and high appreciation of Miss Beecher's services to the public which had attained for her a ''meritorious and enviable position in the Public estimation.''[31] Dio Lewis, scanning the country in 1866 for the best teachers he could find for his school, chose Miss Beecher for his faculty.[32]

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[27] See Chapter VI.

[28] See Chapter VII.

[29] See Chapter IX.

[30] Horace Mann: *Annual Report of the Sec. of the Board of Ed. of Mass.* for the year 1845–1846, from *Life and Works of Horace Mann,* IV.

These actions of men of prominence are incontestable evidence of Catharine Beecher's possession of the esteem of some of her contemporaries, and, while such mute testimony is said to be more convincing than the verbal, it will be interesting to read what some have said of her. An Alabama man, writing in 1852, spoke of her wide reputation as an authoress, and of her indefatigable activity in the cause of education which he felt to be ''the only extensively useful association for preparing and sending capable female teachers to the West.''[33] Fredrika Bremer, after visiting Milwaukee in September of 1850 and inspecting the Milwaukee Female Institute, wrote: ''An important reformation in female schools is taking place in these Western States at the present time under the guidance of a Miss Beecher . . . who is a kind of lady-abbess in educational matters.''[34] Sarah J. Hale, writing in 1850, before her closer association with Catharine in the American Women's Educational Association, spoke of her ''energy of mind'' and her ''entire devotion to the duties she undertakes'' and predicted, ''Her greatest work has yet to be written.''[35] John S. Hart, naming her among the noted ''Female Prose Writers of America'' in 1870, pays tribute to her ability and accomplishments. ''This woman,'' he writes, ''has become distinguished as a writer on some of the most abstruse questions of mental and moral science, has prepared one of the clearest manuals extant for teaching the rationale of arithmetic, has written most acceptably on domestic economy, and she is most favourably known, throughout the length and breadth of the land, by the sober and practical character of her views as an educator and a philanthropist.''[36] But it is Julian Sturtevant, growing reminiscent after fifty years, who gives the most intimate picture: ''I am still refreshed by the quickness and pungency of her wit and her charming voice in song. Her gifts could be fully appreciated only by those who had been favored with her intimate acquaintance. In social life her words were winged arrows of gold. The man who ventured to debate with her on any question on which she had thought, and she never could debate on any other, needed to be well-equipped.''[37] There was just a hint of disapproval, however, in his tone as he told of the fault which, in his estimation, both she and Mary Lyon shared: ''This common fault was that in the earnestness with which they would pursue an argument when the conversation had become spirited and controversial, they led me to forget that I was conversing with a woman, and tempted me to forget the courtesy ever due to the sex.''[38] This facility in expressing herself easily and well was still characteristic of her in old age.[39]

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[31] See Chapter X.

[32] See Chapter X.

[33] *Littel's Living Age*, XXXV, 591.

[34] Bremer: *The Homes of the New World,* I, 615.

[35] Hale: *Woman's Record,* 578–579.

[36] Hart: *Female Prose Writers,* 275.

At her death in 1878, men took cognizance of the broad sweep of her half-century of philanthropic effort and wove priceless jewels of tribute into her memory. They spoke of her patience, magnanimity, and unbounded good nature. They recalled her as a most entertaining companion, alert, suggestive, and with a talk full of fresh comments on persons and things. They commended her lifelong efforts to make her sex healthy and vigorous in body and mind.[40] They told of her methods and ideas, and the impress of her strong personal character which had permeated into every State and Territory in the Union.[41] And one said: ''Dedicating her life as she did, so early, to the service of doing good for others, there was no putting aside or hesitancy about that resolve, so long as bodily feebleness even allowed her to work. . . . In Catharine Beecher the individual may be forgotten but the works never. Their influence upon the mothers of the land, and upon the children will never be lost to future generations. For the practical teachings to millions of households, in the preparation and use of food, in beautifying and making homes pleasant, with the means in the power of every occupant, for the blessed instructions to the poor to learn how to keep themselves and to honor and to respect their lot humble as it may be; for the higher and better humanity taught, an entire nation may rise up to call her blessed.''[42] Of course, these words of praise were bestowed at a time when the majestic presence of death tended to magnify the virtues and minimize the faults of the one who had passed through the gates, but the passing years have not dulled their fitness nor diminished the worthiness of their subject.

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[37] Sturtevant, J. M., Jr.: *Julian M. Sturtevant, an Autobiography,* 253–254.

[38] *Ibid.,* 212.

[39] See Chapter X.

[40] *Hartford Daily Courant,* May 14, 1878.

[41] *Boston Daily Advertiser,* May 13, 1878.

Unfortunately, it is a failing of mankind to accept without question the world's gifts to him, and rarely, if ever, to look to their source. Life is so filled to overflowing with things and ideas that demand immediate and constant attention that one has neither time nor inclination to wonder whence they all come. Our privileges we view with as much complaisance as our physical comforts and rare, indeed, is he who cares how man came by them. So it is without surprise that we find young women today entering the higher educational institutions of the land shoulder to shoulder with young men, or attending others endowed and supported like those of their brothers and affording them the same courses and privileges or others to their tastes, unaware that there ever was a time when they could not have done so. Now and then, some occasion serves as a key to unlock memory's storehouse and there one finds gems of inestimable value, pearls of pure devotion to the good of mankind, sapphires of unswerving loyalty to a great purpose, rubies of courage in the face of discouragement and failure, emeralds of fresh and undampened ardor, and brilliant diamonds with their reflected beauties of a thousand visions—all these the legacies of those pioneer spirits, who trod down the rough path that it might now be wide and easy to follow. Such an occasion arrived, in 1926, when Milwaukee-Downer College celebrated her seventy-fifth anniversary, and for this event she took out, dusted and polished the softly shining images of those women who had made the celebration possible. A glowing tribute was paid Catharine Beecher by Miss Ellen C. Sabin when she said: ''With her clear analytic power, her fine imagination, and her valuable experience, she was fitted in an eminent degree to form a philosophy of education at once exalted and practical,'' and again, ''whatever new fields of opportunity and demand have since opened to women—and they are now almost innumerable—we must still agree that she presented the basic and permanent requirements. So fundamental are they, that it has been assumed they were instinctive and could be met adequately without intelligent preparation for them.''[43] The same year, Louise Phelps Kellogg, reviewing the history of the College, summarized Miss Beecher's contributions as follows: ''She was an unusually intelligent educator, who studied her subject with practical common sense, and moved out from the customary to the progressive by slow steps based on personal observation and experience.''[44]

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[42] *Elmira Daily Advertiser,* May 14, 1878.

When the older colleges for women in the east celebrate the anniversaries of their founding, Catharine Beecher's name is rarely mentioned. Elmira, Vassar, Smith, Wellesley,—all starting life within the compass of hers, boast no heritage of her ideas or spirit. ''We are the product of the Zeitgeist,'' they say.[45] But one can scarcely conceive of a ''Zeitgeist'' as a Minerva, leaping fully armed from the forehead of time. It is rather a temple, whose thousand stones have been placed by many hands, piling tier upon tier until at last the crowning spire stands as a landmark of the age. In the development of this idea of colleges for women, Catharine Beecher certainly had a part, for her many writings form one continuous plea for such educational advantages for girls. When tribute is paid, therefore, to those women of ''power and insight,'' of ''vision'' and ''vigor,'' as it was at a recent anniversary of a women's college[46] wreaths green with remembrance are being offered to her whose life was devoted to the noble cause.

So it goes through the coming years, and the memory of Catharine Beecher will grow brighter rather than dimmer with time. Each anniversary will throw into greater contrast the new and the old and render more amazing the energy of character, restless activity, strong convictions, tenacity of purpose, deep sympathies, and spirit of self-sacrifice of the woman who helped bring the change to pass. Happy combination of propagandist and conservative was she, demonstrating, to borrow one of her own illustrations, that nicely balanced steadiness of motion found in the universe where centripetal and centrifugal forces work so perfectly together. On the question of political participation for women, she held the safe and steady course of the conservative, but in pressing the right of her sex to education equal in opportunity to that for men, she forsook the beaten path of ages and became the radical. In the writer's estimation, no other course could have so well illustrated her own standard of common sense, that "much rarer quality than genius,"[47] for she saw that the two were not companion needs, but that one waited upon the other. Elizabeth Cady Stanton answered her own objection to Catharine's philosophy when she said, "but when you get the women all thoroughly educated, they will step off to the polls and vote in spite of you."[48] Certainly they would and Catharine Beecher had no objections to their doing so,[49] for she had a sublime faith in her sex, believing them able to scale the loftiest peaks which stood in the way of their progress, provided that they had the necessary tool, education of the proper sort. To attain this end she worked, wrote, and talked, preaching substantial learning for girls in a generation that admired accomplishments, institutions of college grade and organization in the day of the Seminary, physical education at a time when it was almost indecent to admit girls had arms and legs, and training for homekeeping and motherhood in an era of agitation for entrance into the occupations of men.

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[43] *Milwaukee-Downer College Bulletin,* June, 1926, 10.

[44] ''The Origins of Milwaukee-Downer College,'' *The Wisconsin Magazine of History,* June, 1926, 386–408.

[45] Woody: *A History of Women's Education in the U. S.,* II, 149.

[46] Address made upon the Occasion of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Founding of Elmira College, June 6, 1930.

One who has studied the life of this woman of word and action, who preached a crusade of education for fifty long years, is faced with an inexplicable enigma. It is this: Catharine Beecher has all but been forgotten by the chroniclers of her age. Mary Lyon and Emma Willard are names familiar to the most casual student of educational history. Margaret Fuller, Susan Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Julia Ward Howe and a dozen others have received their niche in the historian's gallery, but there has been none for Catharine Beecher. "Why this unfair discrimination?" we ask of Time. We can but offer an hypothesis for an answer. "A Beecher, you say?" one hears a score of times. "Ah, yes. There was Harriet Beecher Stowe and Henry Ward. Were there others?" Perhaps herein lies one element of the mystery. What chance had any other Beecher in a constellation containing such dazzling stars as Harriet and Henry?

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[47] Wirt, Extracts from Letters to Daughter, [*American Journal of Education*, XXVII, 736].

[48] Stanton: *Eighty Years and More*, 264.

[49] See Chapter X.

Again, the thought may occur that Catharine Beecher lived too long. If like Mary Lyon, she had left the world at the peak of her career, when her labors in the field of physical education were so well received, and Milwaukee College was still a jewel in her crown, fate might have been kinder to her memory. The first two-thirds of her life she was the radical, teaching new ideas of an education for girls equal to that of their brothers. The radical stamps his image deep upon the minds of his contemporaries. During the latter years of her life, Catharine Beecher was the conservative, urging the retention of an old political and social position to women with new minds. Hence her image was replaced with that of the newer spirits,—Anthony, Stanton, Stone.

Perhaps the very breadth of her activities militated against the depth of the impression she made. Perhaps, if Milwaukee College had been planted in the midst of New England, instead of in the newly-settled West, the story might have been different. Perhaps, if Catharine Beecher had possessed a less angular personality, had made warm friends as well as admirers of her keen mind and fine ability, her image might have lived longer. One remembers with the heart as well as with the mind. Possibly none of these explanations solve the puzzle, and the answer lies in the fact that she was a century ahead of her time.

A hundred years ahead of her time, was she? Nay, for the hundred years have come and gone since she first made her plea and her time has not come yet. The Woman's University, which she hoped to see combine the highest skill in all the distinctive duties of womanhood, has not appeared. Catharine Beecher sensed her reach into the future when she said in 1856:

"It may be . . . that I have too highly estimated our advance in civilization and Christianity, and that we have only sowed the seed while others are to enter into the harvest. But even then, a time will come, when they that sow and they that reap shall rejoice together.''[50]

Is the harvest about to be gathered? Woman has nearly claimed for her own the teaching profession;[51] she has entered the ranks of the humanitarians as nurse, and even the science of home economics is slowly and painfully pushing its right to honor.[52] Thus woman is being trained for her ''distinctive profession;'' she is receiving honorable and remunerative employment in it, and a life's devotion to a cause was not spent in vain. I know of no more fitting close for the story of this teacher of teachers than her own charge to her colleagues:

''All efforts and plans that terminate in earthly prosperity and enjoyment will fade and pass away as eternal years pass by. But, they, who on earth educate even one child to become the parent of a family, educate a race. The children, the children's children, and so on for generations, will reproduce your labors. And every one of these educated minds will live forever, and will turn back to you as that benefactor whose labors have thus brought forth, not a hundred, but a thousand, thousand fold.''[53]

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[50] *Fourth Annual Report of A. W. E. A.*

[51] Woody: Entrance of Women into the Teaching Profession, [*Ed. Outlook*, II, 72–88, 138–163].

[52] Bevier: *Home Economics in Education.*

[53] Address to Society for the Advancement of Education, 1856, [*The American Journal of Education*, (1856), II, 408].

APPENDIX

A

Arguments for and against Miss Grant's uniting with Miss Beecher.

First, In favor of my going to Hartford. Secondly, against relinquishing my present school. Thirdly, against my uniting with Miss Beecher.

First, In favor of my going to Hartford.

1. Miss Beecher needs help, and she cannot execute her contemplated extensive plan, including French, Music, and all, without the aid of some experienced, efficient teacher, who in many things, is capable of acting as principal.

2. There are defects in Miss Beecher's school, which I might do something toward correcting.

3. It is desirable, that the Hartford Female Seminary should be sustained.

4. Many more facilities for conducting a literary institution will be furnished at Hartford, than, according to past and present prospects can, perhaps, ever be expected at Ipswich.

5. It is important, that a female Seminary of real good character should be placed on such a foundation as to be permanent. This argument has had so much weight on my mind, that I have sometimes thought, if this object could be effected by my instrumentality, its importance is such, as to justify hazarding my future usefulness and perhaps my life and Miss Beecher and the Hartford people say, this can be effected, if I go there, and probably will not be, if I decline.

6. The literary and religious privileges of Hartford would be congenial to my taste and might so conduce to my own improvement, as to increase my usefulness.

Secondly, Reasons against giving up the establishment, with which I am now connected.

1. It is important that this Seminary, or one similar to it, should be sustained in this part of New England. This institution is now a good one. I think it is conducted in a good measure, to the laws of the humanisms. I think, too, that it was founded, and that it has been sustained on Christian principles. Its influence on the minds of its members has almost uniformly been such, as to lead them to be more willing to perform the active, domestic, and self-denying duties of life.

2. There is a great need of such teachers as this school is suited to prepare, and the number, who pursue this business after leaving this school, is proportionately greater than the number of those, who leave any other institution, with which I am acquainted. At the close of our last term, a majority of our scholars thought it would be a privilege to teach, and I believe more than thirty had this business in view. Many teachers have

visited this school for the sake of becoming acquainted with its (omission here) and some have remained several days.

3. Miss Lyon is now to me all, and probably in reality more than all I can be to Miss Beecher. And after having labored harmoniously and successfully with Miss Lyon for six years, to give her up now by a voluntary act of my own, seems like taking a step, for which I should have a very important and an obvious reason. Experience has proved that she and I can be useful together; should I unite with Miss B—— our union would be an experiment.

4. This school from its commencement has been distinguished from most others by prescribing a course not designed to be according to the fashion of most schools of the present age; but, what is widely different, designed to be accommodated to the real wants of the community. It being extensively understood, that we have adhered to our course for years, neither our scholars nor their parents now expect us to deviate. Should I continue my present plan, with such improvements as I hope to make, I may reasonably expect the patronage of those, who will cheerfully and implicitly confide in me to direct the studies and regulate the conduct of their daughters. This confidence of the public has been gained only by laborious, faithful, and long continued exertion; and it seems to me that it would take a long time to secure the same at Hartford, and that it would be doubtful, whether in the situation, in which I should be placed, I should ever obtain it.

5. . . .

6. It is said by many who have the means of knowing, and are capable of judging that the influence of this school has been extensively felt, that it has been salutary on other literary institutions, and that if it should be continued on its present plan it will undoubtedly be the means of improving and raising the standard of female education in New England.

Thirdly, Reasons against my uniting with Miss Beecher.

1. Our practices differ. In her conversation, in her letters, and in her book, she acknowledges some things to be of the first importance, yet she has neglected them for years, because she "could not have time to attend to everything." But I have ever considered them, and have attended to them as indispensable school duties. These duties I consider difficult, and to their proper performance the active cooperation of all the teachers is desirable, and of the leading teachers absolutely necessary.

2. It is doubtful, whether connected with Miss B, I could gain such ascendancy over the minds of scholars, as I have had, and as I may hope to have, in my present situation. Miss Lyon, and some other teachers, who have been with me, think that there is no danger of my not gaining the confidence of the scholars at Hartford, but circumstances alter cases. . . .

3. By increasing my care and labor, as I think I must if I go to Hartford, there is danger that my health will fail, and that my active usefulness will consequently be shortened. If the Hartford Seminary "cannot be sustained by one principal," then though I should go there, if Miss Beecher

fails, the Seminary must fail with her, and it could hardly be expected, that I alone should escape the catastrophe. . . .

4. There is at least reason to fear, that Miss B—— and I together should so regulate the H. Seminary, that I should ever consider its prominent defects, greater than I have seen them to be in my own school for a long time.

Lastly, Allow me, Sir, to enquire if I should unite with Miss Beecher, and we should labor successfully together, and have all the patronage we could desire, whether that school would be such a model school as is needed in New England. Among other things, the expenses must be taken into account. The ordinary expenses of a young lady there for a year, including clothing, cannot be much less than $250 and they would not, including everything, probably be less than $300. Three hundred dollars was not enough to defray the expenses of one young lady who was there last summer during a term of 22 weeks, and she was not called very extravagant. The expenses of many others have corresponded with hers; and under such a general influence, a law to regulate dress cannot place all right. And can I, with my single hand direct the current from its deep worn channel?

APPENDIX

B

Constitution of the American Women's Educational Association

Article 1

The name of the society is the American Women's Educational Association.

Article 2

The object of this Association is to aid in securing to American Women a liberal education, honorable position, and remunerative employment in their appropriate profession; the distinctive profession of women being considered as embracing the training of the human mind, the care of the human body in infancy and in sickness, and the conservation of the family state.

Article 3

The leading measure to be pursued by this Association is the establishment of permanent, endowed institutions, for women; embracing the leading features of college and professional institutions for the other sex, *i.e.*, they shall be conducted by a Faculty of Teachers, each being the head of a given department, and no one having control over the others. An office corresponding to that of the President of a college, shall be optional with those who control each institution.

ARTICLE 4

The mode of establishing such institutions shall be as follows: An agent of this Association shall make this offer to some city, or large town in a section where teachers and scholars are most needed.

First: That the citizens shall organize a Board of Trustees, in which the various religious denominations shall be fairly represented; that these Trustees shall provide temporary accommodations and pupils enough to support four Teachers; that a primary and a high school department be organized, and that the college plan of a Faculty of Teachers be adopted.

On these conditions the Association shall furnish the institution with a library and apparatus, to the value of one thousand dollars. The first Board of Teachers shall be appointed by the Association, with the advice and consent of the Trustees, and thereafter, the Faculty shall have the nominating, and the Trustees the appointing power.

Second: As soon as the Teachers have secured public confidence, and prove that they can work harmoniously together, the Citizens shall erect a building at an expense of not less than $10,000, and engage to give gratuitous tuition to twenty Normal pupils. In return, the Association shall provide an endowment of $20,000, the interest of which shall furnish the salaries of three superior Teachers, each having charge of one of the three departments set forth above, as constituting the profession of woman. They also shall aid in the literary instructions. These three Teachers, with the beneficiary Normal Pupils, and any others who may wish and be qualified to enter, shall constitute the Normal Department. The Normal Pupils shall act as Assistants in the primary and high school departments, under the direction of the principal teacher.

ARTICLE 5

With each institution shall be connected an organization of ladies resident in the place of location, who, with the Teachers of the Normal Department shall carry out a system for raising up schools in destitute places and for securing employment and suitable compensation for all teachers trained in the institution. When the home supply is inadequate, Teachers shall be sought from the Board of National Popular Education, and other similar Associations. All Teachers thus located, shall be under the special care of the local Association, and the boarding establishment of the Normal Department shall serve as a temporary home to them in all emergencies demanding it.

ARTICLE 6

Funds contributed for endowments shall be held in trust for the Association, by gentlemen Trustees incorporated for the purpose.

ARTICLE 7

The whole control of the business and funds shall be in a Board of Managers, who shall appoint their own officers, agents and executive committee.

This Board shall have power to perpetuate and increase itself, but the number from any one religious denomination shall never exceed 1/5 of the whole. Not less than seven different denominations shall be represented in the Board, and a majority shall be ladies who are, or who have been practical teachers.

APPENDIX
C

COURSE OF STUDY

Milwaukee College 1853–1854

PRIMARY SCHOOL

Training of Senses and Powers of Observation, correct speaking, Spelling, Reading, and Writing, Drawing, on slate and Blackboard. Arithmetic, mental and written, through fundamental rules and tables. Common things, their nature and use. Rudiments of Natural Science. Small Geography, with some accounts of Travel in connection.

Sentence making. Selections of Poetry committed to memory, and Stories from History told by the teacher, to be repeated by the Children, with a view to the cultivation of Language, Memory and Imagination; and to serve as an introduction to History. Bible Biographies. Vocal Music. Exercises for Physical development.

COLLEGIATE SCHOOL

The Collegiate School is divided into four classes: The Preparatory, which occupies an indefinite period of time, according to the health, capacity and circumstances of the pupil. The Junior, Middle and Senior, each occupying one year. The Course of Study has been arranged with a view to ordinary capacities. Those who are below this standard must acquire a fuller preparation before leaving the Preparatory Class; those who are above, can carry on the study of one or more branches more extensively than their class.

COURSE OF STUDY

PREPARATORY CLASS

Department of Math. and Natural Sciences.

Mental Arithmetic, Written Arithmetic, through fractions, Natural History, Botany commenced.

Department of Geography, Hist., and Mental Science.

Second course in Geog., Historical and Biographical reading, under the direction of a teacher. Bible History.

Department of Language, Belles Lettres, and Composition.

Spelling, Reading, Writing, Pronunciation of foreign proper names, Analysis and derivation of words, English Grammar. Latin Grammar, and Reader, Virgil, Reading English Classics, Progressive Exercises in Composition, Drawing (especially of maps).

JUNIOR CLASS

Department of Math., and Natural Sciences.

First Term: Arithmetic Finished, Physiology.

Second Term: Alg., through simple equations, Natural Philosophy.

Third Term: Application of Alg. to Arith. and review of Arith. Natural Philosophy, with Lectures, Botany.

Department of Geography, Hist., and Mental Science.

First Term: Ancient Hist., and Geog., Mythology, Prophecies of the Old Testament.

Second Term: Hist. and Geog. of Roman Empire. New Testament Hist. and Prophecies.

Third Term: Hist. and Geog. of Middle Ages, Hist. of the Books of the Old and New Testaments.

Department of Language, Belles Lettres, and Composition.

First Term: Comp., Eng. Grammar, Hist. of Greek Classics, with selections read in translations.

Second Term: Comp., Analysis and Parsing sentences, Hist. of Roman Classics, with selections, read in translations.

Third Term: Comp., Hist. of Eng. Language. Extracts from Early Eng. Lit.

MIDDLE CLASS

Department of Math. and Natural Sciences.

First Term: Alg. finished, Astronomy.

Second Term: Geometry.

Third Term: Geom. completed, Geology commenced.

Department of Geog., Hist., and Mental Science.

First Term: Hist. and Geog. of Eng., Poetic books of the Bible.

Second Term: Hist. and Geog. of Cont. Europe, Principles of Interpretation applied to the Bible.

Third Term: Hist. and Geog. of America. Doctrinal and practical teaching of the Bible.

Department of Language, Belles Lettres, and Composition.

First Term: Comp., Rhetoric, English Lit. of Elizabethan Age.

Second Term: Rhetoric, Principles of Criticism, Specimens of Foreign Literature in translations.

Third Term: Essay writing, Critical reading of Eng. Classics to present century.

SENIOR CLASS

Department of Math. and Natural Sciences.

First Term: Book-keeping, Practical questions in Math., Chemistry.

Second Term: Short course in Trig., and Mensuration. Chemistry and Lectures.

Third Term: Practical Math. Geology. Mansfield on the legal rights of women.

Department of Geog., Hist., and Mental Science.

First Term: Mental Philosophy. Church History.

Second Term: Mental Philosophy. Evidences of Christianity. Philosophy of History.

Third Term: Moral Philosophy. Doctrinal teachings of the Bible. Constitution of the United States.

SENIOR CLASS

Department of Language, Belles Lettres, and Composition.

First Term: Didactic writing. Critical reading of Eng. Classics to present century.

Second Term: Didactic writing. Principles of Fine Arts.

Third Term: Composition. Critical Reading.

This course is designed for young ladies who have only ordinary opportunities. For those who can devote a longer time to study, a more extended course is arranged. This will add to the foregoing a more extensive course in foreign languages and in Mathematics, with applications to Natural Philosophy, Navigation, etc. History of Philosophy, Political Economy and Butler's Analogy.

NORMAL SCHOOL

This School for the training of teachers will be divided into two classes, and Certificates will be awarded to those of each class who complete the prescribed course.

1. *Teachers of Common Schools.*

Reading and Spelling and derivation of words, Pronunciation, Grammar and Analysis of Language, Composition writing. Geography with Drawing of maps, Arithmetic, Mental and written through Interest, with a general knowledge of Natural Science, History, Mental Philosophy, and the Bible.

2. *Teachers of High Schools.*

The Collegiate School course completed, and reviewed with reference to teaching, and a more extended course in the particular Department in which the pupils propose to teach.

Instruction in the Art of Teaching, and its modes, the Art of Government, with practice in teaching under the supervision of the Normal Teacher, will constitute an essential part of the training of both classes.

APPENDIX

D

MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS BY AMERICAN WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION 1853

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives Congress Assembled:—

Whereas, there are now more than *two millions* of children in our country destitute of the opportunity of education, demanding *sixty thousand teachers* to supply them at the same ratio as is common in our best educated sections, your Memorialists beg to call your attention to these considerations:—

1. That while the Great West, California, and the wide Ocean, invite the other sex to wealth and adventure, and while the labors of the school room offer so little recompense or honor, the *sixty thousand teachers* needed cannot be obtained from their ranks, and therefore the young women of our country must become teachers of the Common schools, or these must be given up.

2. That the reports of Common school education show that women are the *best* teachers, and that in those States where education is most prosperous, the average of female teachers to that of the other sex is as *five* to *one.*

3. That while, as a general rule, women are not expected to support families, nor to pay from their earnings to support the State, they can afford to teach for a smaller compensation than men, and therefore funds bestowed to educate female teachers gratuitously will, in the end, prove a measure of *economy,* and at the same time will tend to render education more universal and more elevated by securing the best class of teachers at a moderate expense.

4. That those most willing to teach are chiefly found in the industrial class, which, as yet, has received few favors from National or State Legislatures.

5. That providing such gratuitous advantages for women to act as educators, will secure a vast number of well educated teachers, not by instituting a class of *Celibates,* but by employing the unoccupied energies of thousands of young women from their school days to the period of marriage: while, at the same time, they will thus be qualifying themselves for the most arduous duties of their future domestic relations.

In view of these considerations, your Memorialists petition that three or four millions of acres of the public national domains be set apart to endow at least one Normal School in every State, for the gratuitous education of Female Teachers.

These institutions could be modelled and managed in each State to suit the wishes of its inhabitants, and young ladies of every section would be trained as instructors for children in their own vicinity. This would be found of immense advantage in the States where schools have hitherto been neglected.

While such vast portions of the national domains are devoted to national aggrandizements, or physical advantages, we humbly petition that a moderate share may be conferred to benefit the Daughters of our Republic, and thus at the same time to provide Educators for two millions of its most neglected children.

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INDEX

A

Abolitionists, the, 195, 196, 197, 198
Accomplishments, in Female Schools, 20
"A Christian Neighborhood," 186
"Adaptation of Woman's Education to Home Life," 237
"Address of the Senior Author to the Female Teachers of her Country," 176
"Address to the Public," Emma Willard's, 244
"Address on Female Education," Beecher's, 245
Adjunct Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, A. M. Fisher becomes, 30
Albany, N. Y., 99
Albion, (Ship), wrecked, 30
Alexander, Dr. A., 52, 53
Algebra, study of, 37
Almighty Mind, The, 155
America, the first school for the higher education of girls in, 9
American Annals of Education, 82, 87, 169
American Association for the Advancement of Education, 219
American Asylum for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, 45
American Journal of Education, 42, 165
American Lyceum, 76, 88, 178, 180, 181, 245
"American People Starved and Poisoned, The," 187
American Teachers' Education Society, 82
American Woman's Home, or Principles of Domestic Science, The, 176, 221
American Women: Will you save your Country? 94, 181
American Women's Educational Association, 120, 122, 126, 129, 133, 134, 135, 137, 139, 145, 147, 148, 189, 206, 207, 219, 220, 221, 222, 224, 235, 247, 248, 250
  Executive Committee of, 122
  Board of Managers of, 129
Amherst, Mass., 84
An Appeal to the People in Behalf of their Rights as Authorized Interpreters of the Bible, 160, 161
"An Essay on Cause and Effect in Connexion with the Doctrines of Fatalism and Free Agency," 156
Andover, Mass., Theological Seminary, 129, 156
Andrews, Rev. S. J., 232, 233, 234
Anthony, Susan B., 199, 208, 242, 254, 255
Anti-Slavery Campaign, 209
Anti-Slavery Convention, The World's, in London, 201
"Appeal to the Christian Women of Elmira," C. E. Beecher's, 239, 240
Appleton's Journal, 221
"Arguments for and against Miss Grant's uniting with Miss Beecher," 60
Arithmetic, study of, 20, 37, 48, 51
Arithmetic Simplified, 51, 76, 85, 168
Astronomical Slides for Hartford Female Seminary, 42
Atheism, 154
Augustinian Theology, 161, 164
Aunt Benton, 1, 2

B

Baccalaureate, the, 124
Bacon, Delia, 190
Bacon, Dr. Leonard, 208
Baltimore, Md., 96, 181, 182, 216, 217, 218, 249
  Barnum's Hotel, in, 217
Banister, Zilpah P. Grant, 57, 60, 85, 92, 121, 244, 245
Bantam Lake, Conn., 11
Barbour, Dr., at Hartford Female Seminary, 50
Barret House, (Burlington, Iowa), 103
Baths, (Sulphur, Vapor, Russian, Chemical, Turkish, Sun), 214
Beecher, Miss A. M., 230, 232
Beecher, Catharine,
  again at Hartford Female Seminary, 229–235

  American Women's Educational Association, The, and, 120, 121, 134
  ancestors of, 2
  at Burlington, Iowa, 102, 103
  at Quincy, Ill., 143, 144
  Banister, Zilpah Grant, and, 57, 60, 85, 92, 121
  Beecher-Tilton affair, and, 236, 237
  birth of, 1
  character of, 28, 53, 78, 104, 105, 148
  contemporary opinion of, 250, 251, 252
  death of, 238
  death of fiancé of, 30
  death of mother of, 13
  Dio Lewis's Family School for Young Ladies, and, 226
  Dubuque Female College, and, 144–148
  early health of, 5, 6
  education of, 19, 20, 21
  engagement of, 29
  first home of, 4
  heredity of, 18
  history's neglect of, 254, 255, 256
  home training of, 23, 24, 25
  in Brooklyn, 237
  in Cincinnati, 65–80
  in Elmira, 237, 238, 239
  letters of, 17, 52, 65, 69, 77, 78, 81, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 92, 93, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 136, 137
  Mary Lyon, and, 78, 79, 80, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90
  Mary Mortimer, and, 113, 114, 122, 131, 138, 143, 219, 226
  Milwaukee Female College and, 111–139
  nervous prostration of, 57, 67, 71, 78
  optimism of, 35, 76
  physical education movement, and, 216–219
  pictures of, Frontispiece, 231
  plan for High Schools in the West, 106, 107
  poetic ability of, 14, 22, 31
  quest for health, 212, 213, 214, 215
  religious struggles of, 31, 32, 156
  resignation from Hartford Female Seminary, 61
  responsibilities of, 15
  slavery question, the, and, 195–199
  teaching career begun, 29
  temperance movement, the, and, 194
  Victoria C. Woodhull, and, 236
  Western Female Institute, The, and, 68–76
  William Slade, and, 97–104
  Woman's Rights, and, 199–211
  writings of, 149–192
Beecher, Charles, 198
Beecher, David, 1
Beecher, Edward, 5, 31, 32, 34, 37, 39, 41, 66, 91, 95, 107, 157, 210, 236, 238
Beecher, Esther (Aunt), 15, 25, 41, 66
Beecher, George, 66, 190
Beecher, Harriet Porter, 9, 16, 17, 24, 80
Beecher, Henry Ward, 13, 15, 24, 66, 119, 198, 209, 210, 242, 255
Beecher, Isabella, 66, 209
Beecher, James, 66, 234
Beecher, John, 1
Beecher, (Mrs.) Lydia Jackson, 80
Beecher, Lyman, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 23, 24, 28, 29, 34, 40, 41, 60, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 80, 82, 98, 119, 151, 153, 194, 195, 196, 198
Beecher, Mary, 5, 29, 34, 35, 37, 41, 44, 99
Beecher, Roxana Foote, 2, 6, 7, 8, 13, 24, 25
  parentage of, 3
"Beecher's Bibles," 198
Beecher School, the, in East Hampton, 7
Beecher, Thomas K., 96, 182, 198, 202, 237, 238
Beecher-Tilton scandal, 236
Beecher, William, 5, 23, 40
Beechers, life in East Hampton, 5, 6
Bell, Alexander Graham, 193
Benevolence, lessons of, 54
Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, 155
Biblical Repository, 156
Bible, the, 27, 40, 51, 54, 74, 96, 100, 107, 154, 159, 160, 189, 199, 204
Biographical Remains of Rev. George Beecher, The, 149, 190
Blackwell, Dr. Elizabeth, 214
"Bloomer Costume," 173

Bloomington, Iowa, 100
Blue Laws, (Boston), 40
Board of National Popular Education, 96, 100, 102, 105, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 116, 141, 175, 189, 247
Books, in the Beecher family, 25, 26
Boston, Mass., 16, 28, 34, 36, 40, 41, 52, 63, 66, 78, 80, 85, 92, 94, 95, 104, 110, 130, 136, 151, 214, 218, 223, 226, 228, 238, 239
Boston Church, 16, 40, 66
Boston Courier, 66
Boston Daily Advertiser, 239
Boston Journal, 101
Boston Mall, compared to Litchfield, 9
Boston Normal Institute for Physical Education, 226
Boston Post, 228
Brace, John P., 12, 20, 21
Brainerd, Dr. Thomas, 216
Brainerd, Mrs., 216
Brattleborough, Vt., 99
Brattleborough Water Cure, 99
Bremer, Fredrika, 250
Brooklyn, N. Y., 137, 237, 238, 239
Brunswick, Maine, 122
Buchanan, Dr., Neurologist, 213
Buffalo, N. Y., 101, 113
Burlington, Iowa, 100, 102, 103, 105, 109, 140, 144, 188, 189, 248
Burlington, (Iowa), School, 103, 188
Byron, the poet, read by Catharine, 26

C

Calisthenics, 50, 70, 131, 133, 137, 147, 185
Calisthenics Hall, 131, 133, 137, 224
Calvinism, 26, 28, 32, 40, 41, 51, 150, 153, 155, 159
  rejected by C. E. Beecher, 162
Catholics, the, 63, 75
  schools of, 182
Centre College, Danville, Ky., 83
Central Committee for Promoting National Education, (Cincinnati), 98, 100
Chemistry, study of, 20, 37, 42
Cherokee Indians, C. E. Beecher in defense of, 56
''Chesterfield and Paul,'' in *Eclectic Reader*, 170
Chestnut Hills, Litchfield, 11
Chicago, Ill., 100, 145
Cholera,
  in Cincinnati, 67
  in Quincy, 143
Christian, 19, 54, 162
Christian Ethics, C. E. Beecher's system of, 158, 159
Christian Examiner, The, 164, 205
Christian Institution, 140
Christian Religion, doctrine of, 159
Christmas and the New Englander, 12
Cincinnati, Ohio, 56, 60, 63, 64, 65, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 82, 84, 87, 90, 91, 92, 94, 96, 100, 101, 118, 153, 169, 171, 181, 182, 195, 196, 216, 218, 227, 238
Cincinnati Board of Health, 67
Cincinnati College, 74, 249
Cincinnati Daily Gazette, 101, 181
Cincinnati Home, the, of the Beechers, 68
Cincinnati Medical College, 74
Cincinnati Synod, 153
Cincinnati Presbytery, 196
''Circular to the Friends of Popular Education in the United States,'' 101
Cleveland, Ohio, 100, 102, 108, 109
Clinton Academy in East Hampton, 7
Clinton, (Miss) Columbian Vocalist from Boston, 36
College System, 114
Colonizationists, the, 195
Colporteurs, 96
Columbus, Ohio, 100
Commencement Address of Increase A. Lapham at Milwaukee Female College, 124
Committee of Collection, 94
Committee of Ladies, 94
''Committee to Address the Public,'' 245
Common School education, 83, 237
Common Sense Applied to Religion, 157–160, 164
Common Sense Theology, 161
Composition, study of, 48
Confession of Faith, 153
Conflict of Ages, 32, 157
Congregational Church, 150
Congregationalism, 12, 95
  assailed, 15
  defended by Lyman Beecher, 16
Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts, 93
Congress, petitioned, 129
Congress, Act of 1836, 144
Connecticut Courant, 235
Connecticut Woman's Suffrage Association, 210

Connecticut, State Legislature of, 43
Constitutional Advocate of Universal Liberty, The, 197, 198
Course of study in female schools, 20, 47, 227

D

Danake's Hall, (Quincy, Ill.), 141
Danville, Ky., 83
Day, Thomas, 44
Detroit, Mich., 100, 113, 145, 219
Diploma, of Milwaukee Female College, 125
Division of Labour, C. E. Beecher's theory of, 59, 106, 120, 144, 167, 243
Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion,* 27
Domestic Economy, 108, 174, 175, 176, 201
  income from, 175
  popularity of, 175
"Domestic Economy and the Laws of Health," 227
Domestic education, 19, 100, 165, 166, 172, 220
  contemporary opinion regarding, 171, 172
  Emma Willard on, 171
  Mount Holyoke Seminary and, 171
Domestic Receipt Book, 108, 175
Don Quixote, read by Catharine, 26
Downer College, 139
Drake, Dr. Daniel, 77
Drawing, study of, 7, 38
Dress, C. E. Beecher on the folly of, 173
Dress materials in 1823, 35
Dubuque, Iowa, 224, 248
  population and history of, 144
Dubuque Female College,
  course of study, 147
  decline of, 148
  founded, 145
  picture of, 146
  referred to, 224
Dubuque High School, 148
Dutton, Mary, 69, 71, 75, 80, 81
Duty of American Women to their Country, The, 94, 181
"Duty of Disobedience to Wicked Laws, The," 198
Dwight, Timothy, 31

E

Eaglewood, N. J., 227
East, the, 106, 112, 133, 246
East Hampton, L. I., 1, 3, 6, 8, 11, 16, 193
  description of, 3, 4
  history of, 3
Edison, Thomas A., 193
Education,
  Calvinistic, 150
  the West's need of, 81, 82, 83, 87, 88, 91, 94, 96, 182
Educational Reminiscences, 42, 75, 148, 167, 187, 188, 209, 225
Edwards, Jonathan, 12, 15, 31, 53, 153, 157
  granddaughter of, 12
  theology of, 15
Election, 26, 153
Election of 1860, referred to, 193
Ellis, John Millot, 81
Ellsworth, Wm. W., 44
Elmira, N. Y., 237, 238, 241, 253
Elmira College, C. E. Beecher and, 237
Elmira Daily Advertiser, 239
Elocution, study of, 50, 51
Emancipator, The, 197
Embroidery, study of, 7, 20
Emerson, Joseph, 60
Emmons, Dr. (Franklin, Mass.), 150
English branches, study of, 7
Episcopal Church, C. E. Beecher joins the, 162
Essay on Slavery and Abolitionism, 76, 149, 196
Essay on the Education of Female Teachers, 76, 88, 178
Everett, Edward, 242
Evils Suffered by American Womanhood and American Children, The, 96, 182, 202
Exercise, want of, decried, 174

F

"Facts for the Consideration of the Citizens of Cincinnati," 72, 73, 74, 75
"Faith once delivered to the Saints," Dr Beecher's sermon on, 40, 151
Family School for Young Ladies, Dio Lewis's, 226–228
Fatalism, Calvinistic, 157
Federal Constitution, The, 206
  Thirteenth Amendment, referred to, 206
  Fourteenth Amendment, referred to, 206, 209
  Fifteenth Amendment, referred to, 193, 206

  Nineteenth Amendment, referred to, 210
Fellenberg, 86
''Female Education,'' C. E. Beecher's, 42, 76, 165
Female Prose Writers of America, 250
Finch, Ashbel, 116
Fisher, Dr. Alexander Metcalf, 29, 30, 33, 150, 236
  death of, 30
Fisher, Deacon Caleb, 29
Fisher, family of Mr., 32
Fisher, Rev. George, 236
Food, healthful, C. E. Beecher on, 173, 183
Foote, Eli, 3
  death of, 3
  profession of, 3
Foote, Harriet, 80
Foote, Samuel (Uncle), 25
Foreign missions, work of, in Litchfield, 9
Fourth of July, in Litchfield, 12
Frankfurt, Ky., 83
Franklin, Mass., 29, 32, 33, 150
Franklin Primer, 86
''Free Agency,'' doctrine of, 156
Free Normal Schools for Female Teachers, 129
French, study of, 7, 38
French Revolution, the, 94
Fugitive Slave Law, the, referred to, 193
Fuller, Margaret, 254

G

Galen, (Ancient Physician), 185
Galesburg, ll., 210
Gallaudet, Thomas H., 45, 71, 77
Garrison, William Lloyd, 197, 242
Geography, study of, 19, 20, 35, 37, 48
Geometry, study of, 37, 172
General Assembly of the State of Connecticut, 43
Gilman, Mr., (Milwaukee, Wis.), 130, 132
Gleason, Mrs. Dr., 237
God, 4, 15, 26, 27, 31, 40, 49, 63, 64, 98, 105, 150, 151, 153, 155, 158, 160, 161, 162, 170, 198, 201, 208, 209, 215
  Laws of, 219
Godey's Ladies Book, 129, 185
Golden age, the, of Litchfield, 9
Gordian Knots, 153
Gough, John B., 194
Gould, Mrs. Jacob, 119
Gould, James, of Litchfield, 9
Grammar, study of, 20, 35, 37
Grandmother Beecher, 1, 15
Grant's (Miss), Seminary, 55, 57
Great West, the, 63, 91, 121
Greeks, the, 158
Grimké, Angelina, 196, 197, 198, 199
Grimké, Sarah, 199
Grove Seminary, New Haven, Conn., 56
Guilford, Conn., 2, 65, 71

H

Hale, Sarah J., 121, 129, 250
Hamilton, Joseph, 6, 137
Hanover Church (Boston), Dr. Beecher removes to, 40
Hart, John S., 250
Hartford, Conn., 34, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 44, 52, 55, 56, 58, 62, 65, 70, 72, 76, 77, 84, 85, 86, 102, 104, 113, 120, 136, 139, 151, 168, 200, 201, 207, 209, 210, 224, 226, 229, 230, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 238, 239, 245, 248
  shops and shopkeepers of, in 1823, 35
Hartford Daily Courant, 101, 229, 235, 239
Hartford Female Seminary,
  agreement signed by pupils in, 55
  a typical day in, 38
  character education in, 54
  course of study of, 47
  effort to obtain Zilpah Grant for, 57, 60
  1827 accommodations of, 45
  honours and prizes of, 49
  hope of securing Mary Lyon for, 60
  incorporation of, 44
  later history of, 61
  levees of, 39
  methods of, 41, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53
  opened, 35
  Prospectus of, 44
  referred to, 70, 82, 168, 188, 189, 196, 224, 226, 229, 230, 232, 234, 235, 244, 245
  religious discussions in, 41, 54
  resignation of C. E. Beecher from, 61
  return of C. E. Beecher to, 229–235
  school procedure of, 55, 56

  student government in, 53, 54
  subjects taught, 37, 230
  suggestions regarding improvements of, 58, 59
  tuition, 35
Hartford, First Church, 34
Hartford Grammar School, 34
Hartford Museum of Curiosities and Paintings, 36
Harvard College, 40, 51
Hatch, Rebecca Taylor, 53
Hawes, Rev. Mr. Joel, 34, 60
Health, poor, decried, 184
''Henry Martyn and Lord Byron,'' in *Eclectic Reader*, 170
Hitchcock, (Prof.), 84
''Higher branches,'' the, 20, 35, 243
Hildreth, Richard, 197
History, study of, 20, 37, 50
Hoff, Sally (shop), Hartford, 36
Holbrook, Josiah, 178
Home Missions, 97
''Honours,'' at Hartford Female Seminary, 49
Hooker, Isabella Beecher, 209, 210, 236
Hooker, John, 210, 234
House and Home Papers, 176, 210
''How to Redeem Woman's Profession from Dishonor,'' 206
Howe, Julia Ward, 254
Hubbard, Mary (Aunt), 4, 6, 11, 25, 26
Hughes, Mr., (Cincinnati), 72
Hunt, Jane, 199
Huntsville Seminary, Alabama, 56

I

''Illinois Association, The,'' 81
Illinois Central Railroad, 145
Illinois College, 66, 81, 91, 95, 107, 249
Illinois Ladies Education Society, 175
Illinois State Education Society, 108
Independent, The, 198, 205
Indianapolis, Ind., 100, 101
Ipswich Female Seminary, 55, 57, 244, 245

J

Jacksonville, Ill., 66, 107, 108, 109, 113, 116, 140, 175, 249
Jacksonville Committee, 116, 140, 175, 249
Jeptha's Wife, C. E. Beecher as, 21
Johnson, Nathan, 44
Juneau, Solomon, 117
''Juvenile Population of the United States,'' 82

K

Kalamazoo, Mich., 100
Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 193, 198
Kellog, Louise Phelps, 253
Kemper, Elnathan, 64
Kemper, Rev. James, 64
Kilpatrick, Hon. Thomas M., 108, 109, 111, 140, 141
King family, Harriet Porter Beecher a member of, 16
Knitting, teaching of, 19

L

Ladies' Benevolent Aid Society, Elmira, N. Y., 240
''Ladies' Fashionable Shoe Store,'' (Hartford), 36
Ladies Society for the Promotion of Education at the West, 94, 95, 96
  C. E. Beecher's objections to, 95
Lancastrian Plan at the Hartford Female Seminary, 41
Lane Brothers, 64
Lane Theological Seminary, (Cincinnati), 60, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 74, 81, 195, 227
Lapham, Increase A., 110, 111, 112, 119, 124, 129, 130, 131, 132, 135, 221, 248
Lapham, Mrs., 119
Latin, study of, 37
Lavoisier, studied by Catharine's mother, 25
Law School, the, of Litchfield, 9
''Lay of the Last Minstrel,'' read to Catharine, 25
Legislature, the, of Iowa, 142
''Letters Addressed to American Females by One of their Countrywomen,'' 85
''Letters to Benevolent Ladies in the United States,'' 108
Letters on the Difficulties of Religion, 76, 153, 154, 158
Letters to the People on Health and Happiness, 130, 183, 184, 194, 215
Letters to Persons Engaged in Domestic Service, 177
Lewis, Dio, 50, 222, 226, 227, 228, 250
  Family School for Young Ladies, 226

Normal Institute for Physical Education, 226, 228
School at Spy Pond, 228
Lexington, Mass., 139, 226, 227, 235
Lexington House, 227
Ling, 214
Litchfield, Conn., 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, 18, 19, 20, 26, 29, 39, 40, 65
Litchfield Home of the Beechers, 10
Litchfield Medical Society, 9
Literature, study of, 35
Literary Institutions, 124
London of the West, Cincinnati, the, 63
Loomis, Miss A., 124
Losantiville, Ohio, settled, 65
Lyon, Mary, 60, 78, 79, 80, 84, 86, 87, 88, 90, 98, 244, 245, 246, 250, 254, 255

M

Magic Lantern, 41
Mann, Horace, 150, 249
Map-drawing, taught, 20
Marblehead, 92
Marietta, Ohio, settled, 65
Massachusetts School Library, 175
Mathews, Mr., shopkeeper in Hartford, 36
McAlister & Son, Philadelphia, 41
McClintock, Mary Ann, 199
McGuffy, William H., President of Cincinnati College, 170, 249
McGuffy's *Fourth Reader*, 76, 168
Eclectic Series, 168, 170, 249
Medical Society, the first, in Litchfield, 9
Meeting House, the Litchfield, 13
Mental and Moral Philosophy, 51, 76, 151, 152, 153, 168
''Mental Culture for Women,'' Henry Ward Beecher's, 209
Mental hygiene, C. E. Beecher on, 174
Mental philosophy, study of, 51
Middlebury, Vt., 101
Middle West, the, 248
Millard, Miss J., 124
Millennium, The, Miss Beecher's idea of, 121
Milwaukee, Wis., 94, 100, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 124, 126, 128, 130, 132, 133, 134, 135, 137, 138, 139, 140, 144, 145, 147, 148, 221, 224, 238, 248, 250
Milwaukee Committee of Ladies, 119
Milwaukee-Downer College, 139, 140, 248, 252
Milwaukee, Educational Society of, 119
Milwaukee Female College,
an addition proposed by Miss Beecher, 129–132
as the ''Normal Institute and High School,'' 114–123
at present (1931), 139, 140
course of study, 122, 125
faculty of, in 1853, 124
''First Annual Report of the Officers and Pupils'' of, 124
''High School,'' 114–123
incorporated, 117
Miss Beecher tries to obtain endowment for, 135
Miss Beecher ceases connection with, 139
new building of, 121, 122
origin of, 111, 112, 113
pictures of, 123, op. 139
referred to, 188, 189, 221, 224, 226, 250
trustees and Miss Beecher at odds, 135–139
Milwaukee Female College Diploma, 127
Milwaukee High School ground, 111
Milwaukee M. E. Church, 145
Milwaukee Normal Institute and High School, 114, 115, 117, 119, 121, 122
picture of, 123
Milwaukee Presbyterian Church, 111
Milwaukee Sentinel, 138
Minister's Wooing, 32
Miss Beecher's Housekeeper and Healthkeeper, 176
Mount Vernon Church, Boston, 94
Mission Sewing Circle, of, 94
Movement Cure, Dio Lewis's, 50
Music, study of, 38, 70
Mississippi Railroad, 118
Missouri Compromise, the, 195
Model School, 125
Monitors, at Hartford Female Seminary, 56
Montaigne, 185
Moral Instructor, 76, 170
Moral philosophy, study of, 20, 37
More, Hannah, 157, 165, 200
Mortimer, Mary, 113, 114, 120, 122, 124, 131, 138, 139, 143, 248
Mothers Magazine, 77
Mott, Lucretia, 199

Mount Holyoke Seminary, 78, 79, 171, 225, 245, 246
Mount Tom, Litchfield, 11

N

National Woman Suffrage Association, the, 206
Natural Curiosities, in Hartford Museum of Curiosities and Paintings, 36
Natural depravity, 26
''Natural Depravity in Children,'' by Hannah More, 157
Natural philosophy, study of, 20
Natural theology, study of, 37
Neftel, Dr., 224
Newburyport, Mass., 92
New Englander, The, 12, 200
New Gymnastics, Dio Lewis's, 226, 228
New England Thanksgiving, 12
New England Theology, 162
New England households, 23
New England Village, 8
New Haven, Conn., 16, 30, 35, 36, 53, 56, 75, 81, 191
New Housekeeper's Manual and the Handy Cook Book, The, 176
New London, Conn., Catharine teaches in, 29
New Orleans, La., 64
New York City, 5, 36, 96, 120, 178, 181, 182, 206, 207, 221, 232, 233, 238
New York *Tribune*, 287, 221
''Ninety Portraits,'' in Hartford Museum of Curiosities and Paintings, 36
Normal school, the, at Albany, N. Y., 100
Northampton, Mass., 113, 114, 245
Northwest, the, 140, 157, 249
Nutplains, 2, 3

O

Olmstead, Professor, of Yale, 51, 169
Original Sin, 153, 157
Orthodox views of Calvinism, 26, 30
Ottowa, Ill., 113
Outline of Educational Doctrine, Herbart's, 48

P

Page, Mr., Principal of Albany Normal School, 100
Painting, study of, 7, 20
Palmer, J. C., 141
Park Church, Elmira, N. Y., 238
Parsons, Lucy, (Mrs. Wm. L.), 111, 112, 113, 114, 121, 122, 124, 145
Parsons' Mrs., Seminary, 114
Parsons, Rev. Wm. L., 112, 114, 119, 121, 122, 130
Peabody, Elizabeth, 223
Pelagianism, C. E. Beecher accused of, 165
Perkins, Thomas Clapp, 44
Personal Reminiscences and Memorials, R. T. Hatch's, 53
Phelps, Mrs. Almira L., 217
Philadelphia, Catharine Beecher visits, 52, 96, 218
  mentioned, 181, 182, 216, 217, 218, 227, 238
Phillips, Wendell, 242
Philosophical lectures at Hartford Female Seminary, 42
Philosophical subjects, 42
Philosophy, study of, 37, 172
Physical education, 70, 216–219, 228
Physiology and Calisthenics, 50, 130, 183, 184, 216, 218, 219, 247
Piano, study of, in female schools, 20
Pierce, (Publisher), 85, 86
Pierce, Sarah, 9, 19, 20, 22, 23, 29
  school of, 11, 19, 20
  Catharine's memory of, 19
Pilgrims, the, 93
Plan for Improving Female Education, Emma Willard's, 42
Plato, 185
Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., 198
Poganuc People, Mrs. Stowe's, 12
Poughkeepsie, N. Y., 136, 234
Preparatory Class, 125
Presbyterian Church, 111, 153, 162, 196, 198
Presbyterian Church General Assembly, (1830), 63, 64
Presbyterianism, 12, 63, 154, 155
Primary Geography for Children, on an improved plan, with Eleven Maps and numerous Engravings, 76, 169
Princeton Theological Seminary, 52
Principles of Domestic Science, 176, 207
Prizes, at Hartford Female Seminary, 49
Procrustian Bed, education a, 21
Prospect Hill, Litchfield, 11
Protestants, the, 75, 132

Providence, 87
Public Schools,
  Baltimore, 216, 217, 218
  Cincinnati, 216
  Philadelphia, 218, 219
Punctuality, lessons of, 54
"Puzzled Housewife, The," article by Mrs. Sedgewick, 172

Q

Queen City, the (boat), 113
Queen City of the West, Cincinnati called the, 65
Quincy, Ill., 248
  Female Seminary in, 140–144, 188, 189

R

Ralston, Dr. J. N., 141
Reading, teaching of, 19
"Reasons why the station of the domestic is a desirable one . . .," 178
Reed, Mrs. M., 229
Reeve, Judge Tapping, 9, 11, 12
Reeve, Mrs., 12
Reform School in Rhode Island, 235
Religious Training of Children in the School, the Family and the Church, 161–165
Remedy of Intemperance, The, by Lyman Beecher, 194
Revivals, Calvinistic, 27
Revolution, the, 9
Rhetoric, study of, 35, 37
Ripley's Coffee Shop, Hartford, 35
Rochester, N. Y., 119, 247
Rose, Miss, 229
Round Hill Water Cure, Northampton, Mass., 113
Rousseau, 185

S

Sabin, Miss Ellen C., 139, 140, 252
St. Augustine, 158
Saint Paul, quoted, 156
Saints, the, 153
Salem Street Church, Boston, 95
Satan, 158
Savage, Charles A., Esq., 141
Sceptics, 154
Schools, female, 20
  defects of, 41, 42, 59, 166, 167, 168, 190
  subjects taught in, 20, 37
Science, study of, 35
Scott, Sir Walter, read by Catharine, 26
Scriptures, the, 28, 159
Sedgewick, Mrs., 172
Seneca Falls Convention, the July, 1848, 203, 205
Sermon on Duelling, Lyman Beecher's, 6
Sewing, teaching of, 19
Sheldon, Dr., of Litchfield, 9
Sherman, Samuel, 138, 139
Sherwood's Electro-Magnetic Machine, 213
Sigourney, Lydia, 76, 77, 84, 121, 199
Six Sermons on Intemperance, Lyman Beecher's, 194
Slade, William, Governor of Vermont, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 103, 104, 105, 108, 109, 110, 136, 182, 189, 247, 249
Slave Auction, in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., 198
Slavery question, the, the Beechers and, 195–199
Society for the Advancement of Education, the, 205
Smith College, 225, 253
Springfield, Ill., 100
St. Louis, Mo., 145
Stage-coaches, 35
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, 199, 207, 242, 254, 255
Steam Boat "Experiment," 36
"Stents," 19
Stockport, N. Y., 236
Stone, Lucy, 199, 242, 255
Stowe, Calvin E., 92, 94, 98, 122, 195, 229, 235
Stowe, Charles, 40, 157, 196
Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 8, 11, 13, 15, 26, 32, 39, 41, 47, 48, 50, 56, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 99, 104, 119, 121, 122, 149, 165, 169, 176, 188, 195, 196, 199, 207, 210, 221, 229, 230, 235, 242, 255
Student Government, 53
Sturtevant, Julian, President of Illinois College, 107, 108, 126, 249, 250
Suggestions Respecting Improvements in Education, 37, 58, 59, 72, 76, 166, 167, 168, 171, 200, 243
Sumner, Charles, 242
Sunday, in New England, 12, 13

"Swedish Movement Cure," 214
Syracuse, N. Y., 239

T

Tappan, Miss, 71
Taylor, Dr. Geo. H., 214, 224
Taylor, Dr. Nathaniel, 16, 53
Teachers,
  need for, 83, 87, 88, 94, 96, 110, 180
  preparation of, 88, 90, 95, 99, 100, 102
  transferred to the West, 101, 102
Temperance Convention, World's, the, in London, 194
Temperance movement, the,
  C. E. Beecher and, 77, 194
  in Litchfield, 9
  Lyman Beecher and, 194
Terre Haute, Ind., 100
Terrible Siren, The, 236
Terry, Sarah Ann, 54
Theology,
  discussed by Lyman Beecher, 11, 15
  views of, 153
Times and Hartford Advertiser, 36
"To Benevolent Women in the United States," C. E. Beecher's circular, 56
Total Depravity, 153, 154, 158
Tracts, 96
Treatise on Domestic Economy, 76, 171, 172, 173, 194
Troy Female Seminary, 244, 245
True Remedy for the Wrongs of Woman, The, 119, 187, 188, 203
Truth Stranger Than Fiction, 149, 190
Tuition fees, 35
Tweedy, John H., 128, 248
Typical day, a, in Hartford Female Seminary, 38

U

"Underground Railway," 195
Unitarianism, 16, 40, 154
Unitarians, 93, 154
"*Universal Education a Pecuniary Gain to a Country,*" 83
Uncle Tom's Cabin, Harriet Beecher Stowe's, 199
Unknown Friend, of Maria Edgeworth, 22

V

Vanderpoel, Emily N., on Litchfield, 9
Vassar, Mr., 136
Vassar College, 225, 253
Views in Theology, 153

W

Walnut Hills, Cincinnati, 64, 67, 76
Ward, Andrew, 3
  war service of, 3
Ward, Roxana, 3, 4
Warner, Miss E. B., 124
Washington, D. C., 37, 132, 182
Water Cure, 213
Webster, Daniel, 193, 242
  "Seventh of March Speech," of, 193
Weeks, Sarah, shopkeeper in Hartford, 36
Welch, Geo., 232, 233, 234, 235
Weld, Angeline Grimké, 227
Weld, Theodore D., 195, 227
Wellesley College, 253
West, the, 63, 73, 74, 87, 104, 113, 136, 213, 246, 248, 249, 250, 255
Western Education Society, 247
Western Female Institute, Cincinnati,
  abandoned, 75
  begun, 69, 70
  C. E. Beecher seeks endowment for, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75
  referred to, 56, 90, 169, 171, 182, 188, 189
  relinquished by C. E. Beecher, 71
  subjects in, 70
Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers, 82, 83, 91
Western Monthly Magazine, 81, 83, 91
Wheeling, W. Va., 67
Willard, Emma (Mrs.), 48, 171, 244, 254
Willard, Frances E., 126, 245
Wilson, Mrs., 124
Wisner, Dr., 52
Wolcotts, the, of Litchfield, 9
Woman's "influence," 45, 84, 201
"Woman's Influence in Politics," by Henry Ward Beecher, 209
Woman's profession, 59, 97, 98, 129, 136, 139, 165, 166, 167, 175, 176, 179, 185, 186, 204, 206, 208, 211, 220, 237, 246, 256
"Woman's Profession Dishonored," 185, 206
Woman's Rights Movement,
  and the other Beechers, 209, 210
  beginnings of, 199, 203
  C. E. Beecher and, 188, 199–211

  progress of, 206
  success of, 210
Woman's Rights Party, 188, 203
Woman's Suffrage Convention,
  in Hartford, Conn., 210
  in Springfield, Ill., 210
Woman's University, 223, 226
Woodbridge, William, 181
Woodhull, Victoria C., 236
Woodlawn Cemetery, Elmira, N. Y., 238
Woods, Dr. Leonard, 156
Woodward High School, Cincinnati, 72, 74
Woody, Thomas, 246
Wright, Martha, 199
Writing, teaching of, 19

Y

"Yale Band, The," 81
Yale College, 2, 30, 34, 58, 81, 169, 191
Young, John C., 83
Youth's Temperance Society, Cincinnati, 77, 194

Z

"Zeitgeist," 253

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